

# THIRTY-FIFTH ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

## HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

---

FOR THE YEAR 1926

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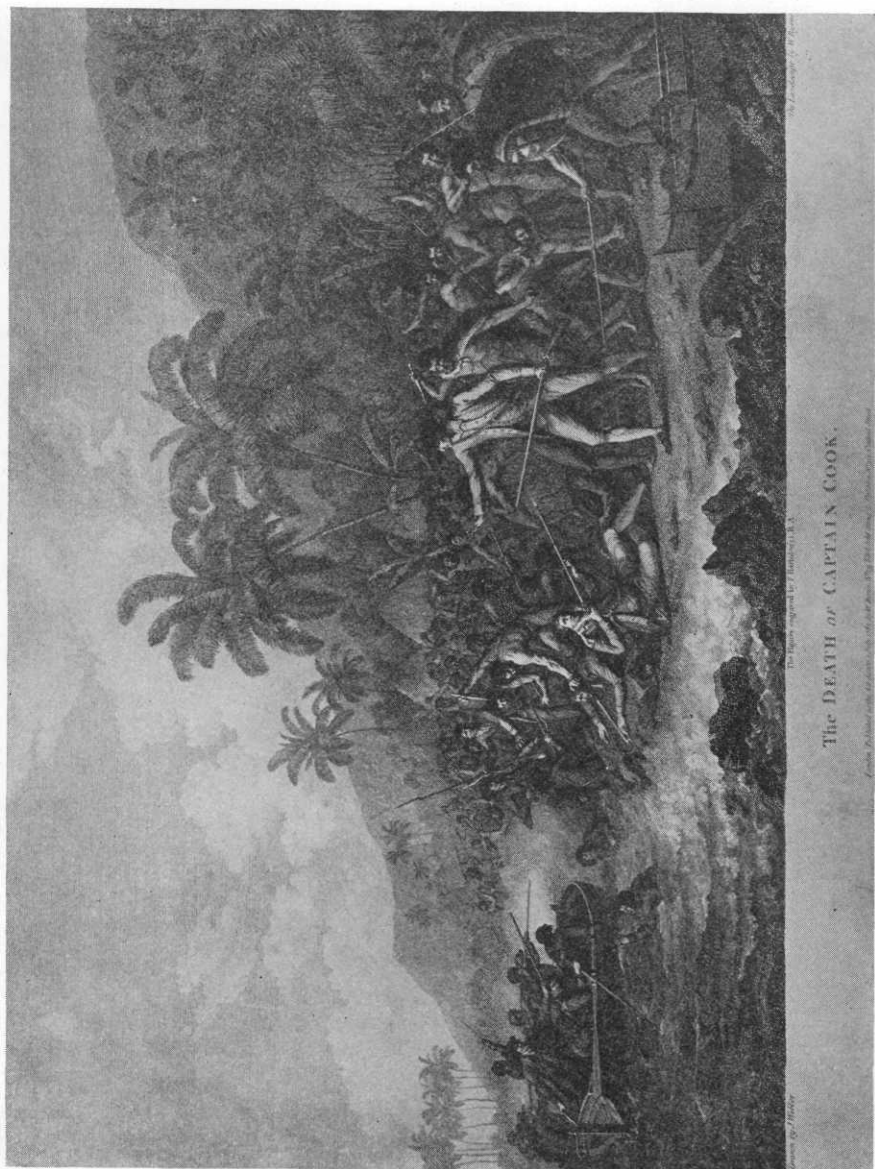
WITH PAPERS READ AT THE ANNUAL  
MEETING, FEBRUARY 8, 1927



HONOLULU, HAWAII  
Advertiser Publishing Co., Ltd.  
1927







*The Death of Captain Cook.*

THE DEATH OF CAPTAIN JAMES COOK

FROM AN ENGRAVING BY BARTOLOZZI AND BYRNE, AFTER THE DRAWING BY WEBBER,  
IN THE COLLECTION OF STEPHEN W. PHILLIPS OF SALEM, MASSACHUSETTS.



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## OFFICERS FOR 1927

PRESIDENT.....	REV. H. B. RESTARICK
VICE-PRESIDENT.....	HON. W. F. FREAR
RECORDING SECRETARY.....	EDGAR HENRIQUES
CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.....	R. S. KUYKENDALL
TREASURER.....	SAMUEL WILDER KING
LIBRARIAN.....	MISS CAROLINE GREEN
TRUSTEE UNTIL 1928.....	EDGAR HENRIQUES
TRUSTEE UNTIL 1928.....	R. S. KUYKENDALL
TRUSTEE UNTIL 1928.....	W. D. WESTERVELT
TRUSTEE UNTIL 1929.....	HON. W. F. FREAR
TRUSTEE UNTIL 1929.....	SAMUEL WILDER KING
TRUSTEE UNTIL 1929.....	ALBERT P. TAYLOR

### TRUSTEE LIBRARY OF HAWAII

W. D. WESTERVELT

#### COMMITTEES

##### *Finance Committee*

W. F. FREAR

W. W. GOODALE

GEO. R. CARTER

##### *Duty of Committee*

To devise ways and means of providing funds to enable  
the Society to accomplish its aims.

##### *House Committee*

MISS CAROLINE P. GREEN

MISS EDNA I. ALLYN

MISS ETHEL M. DAMON

##### *Duty of Committee*

To take charge of the arrangement and preservation of  
the Society's Library and collections.

##### *Editorial and Printing Committee*

R. S. KUYKENDALL

K. C. LEEBRICK

EDGAR HENRIQUES

##### *Duty of Committee*

To edit and arrange for printing all publications. Shall  
call for bids for printing.

##### *Purchasing Committee*

BRUCE CARTWRIGHT

MISS ETHEL DAMON

A. P. TAYLOR

##### *Duty of Committee*

Shall attend to the purchasing and acquisition of new  
material for the Society's library and collections.

##### *Membership Committee*

EDGAR HENRIQUES

REV. H. B. RESTARICK

MRS. W. F. FREAR

W. H. SOPER

ED. TOWSE

##### *Duty of Committee*

Obtain New Members for the Society.

##### *Program and Research Committee*

K. C. LEEBRICK

A. P. TAYLOR

GEO. R. CARTER

R. S. KUYKENDALL

BRUCE CARTWRIGHT

##### *Duty of Committee*

To take charge of and arrange programs.

##### *Nominating Committee*

W. W. GOODALE

GERRITT P. WILDER.

BRUCE CARTWRIGHT

##### *Duty of Committee*

To present nominations for the office of President and  
for three Trustees to be voted on at the annual meeting.

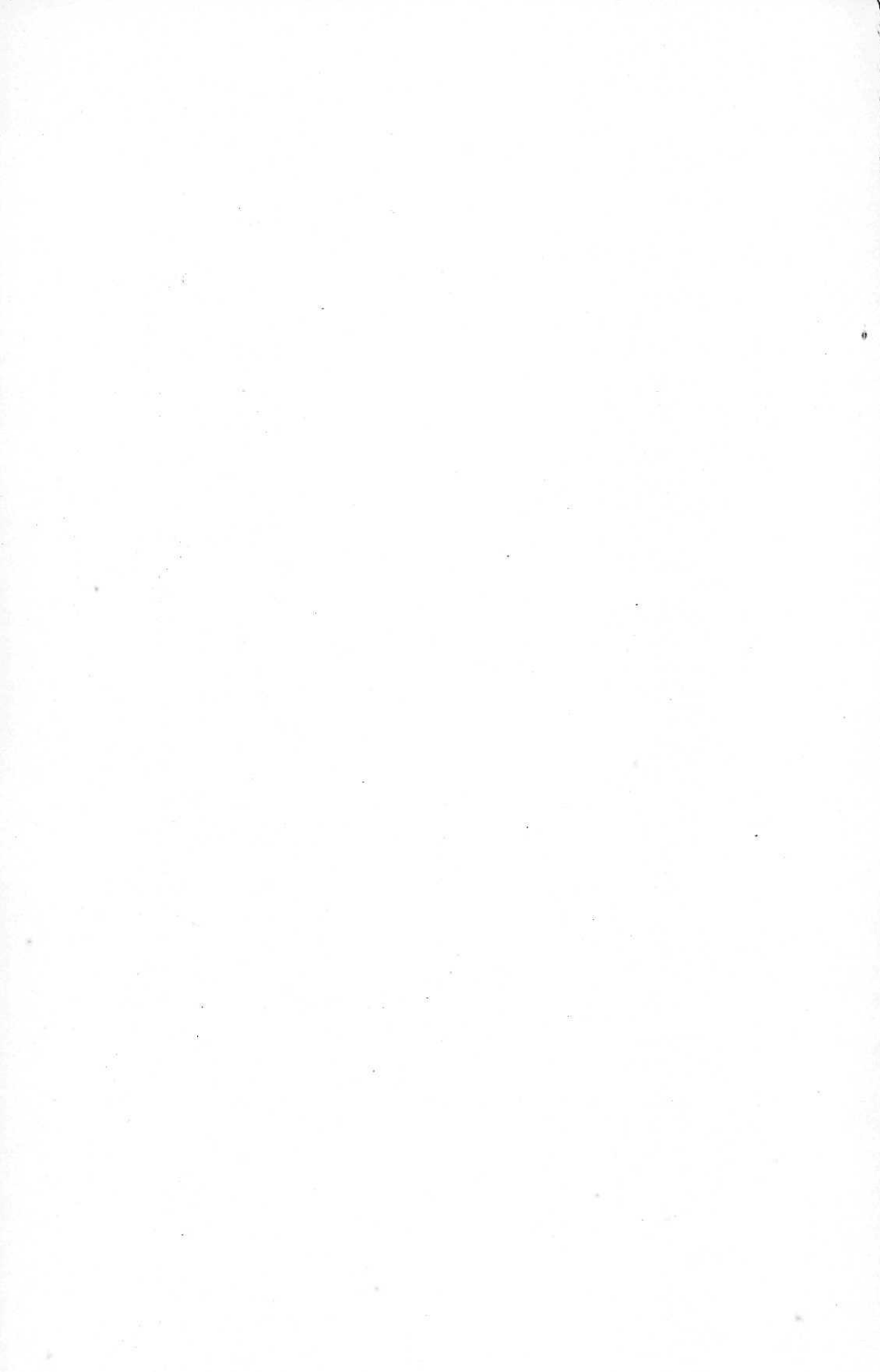
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## Minutes of the Annual Meeting

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The thirty-fifth annual meeting of the Hawaiian Historical Society was held Tuesday, February 8, 1927, in the Lecture Hall of the Library of Hawaii, at 7:30 p. m. Bishop Henry Bond Restarick, president, presided, and Mr. Albert P. Taylor acted as secretary in the absence of Secretary Edgar Henriques.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

Reports of the Treasurer, Librarian, and President were read and approved, the first subject to audit. The reports were ordered printed in the forthcoming annual. Reports of other committees were ordered filed.

The By-Laws were amended by unanimous vote, Art. II, by adding a new paragraph to Sec. 1, to read as follows:

(5) **BRANCH MEMBERS.** Local historical societies organized in any part of the Territory of Hawaii outside the City and County of Honolulu may become affiliated with the Hawaiian Historical Society and shall then be called Branches of the Hawaiian Historical Society. Such affiliation shall be accomplished by a majority vote of the members of the Hawaiian Historical Society present at an annual meeting or at a special meeting called for that purpose. A local society desiring affiliation shall make application for such affiliation and this application shall be submitted to and be approved by the Trustees of the Hawaiian Historical Society before being submitted to the vote of the Society. Members of the local societies thus affiliated with the Hawaiian Historical Society shall be called branch members of the Hawaiian Historical Society and shall have all the rights and privileges of active members except that of holding office. Each branch society shall contribute annually to the Hawaiian Historical Society the sum of one dollar for each of its active members in good standing, and shall furnish to the Recording Secretary a list giving the names of such members with their addresses. Branch members shall receive the publications of the Hawaiian Historical



Society on the same basis as Active Members. Branch societies shall retain full ownership and control of all property which they have at the time of affiliation and all that they subsequently acquire.

A resolution was passed asking the Governor and Superintendent of Public Works to take steps to appropriately mark two historic sites:

- (1) Pier 11—site of the old Honolulu fort erected 1816;
- (2) Territorial Office Building—site (nearly) of the old Oahu Charity School.

The following committee was appointed to prepare a memoir on the life of Sanford Ballard Dole: Lorrin A. Thurston, Ethel M. Damon and K. C. Leebrick.

This society approved the recommendation of the Hawaiian Historical Commission to Governor Farrington recommending the old Russian Fort at Waimea, Kauai, be set aside and preserved as a public park.

The following papers were read and ordered printed in our next annual:

- (1) The Paehumu of Heiaus Non-Sacred, by Thos. G. Thrum;
- (2) The Place of Captain Cook's Death, by W. F. Wilson;
- (3) John M. Gamble, by Edwin North McClellan;
- (4) Samoa, Old and New, by Hugh Tennent.

Mr. A. P. Taylor read from a report of Mr. Robt. P. Lewis on feather capes and helmets in European Museums.

There being no further business the meeting adjourned 10:00 p. m.

A. P. TAYLOR,  
Acting Secretary.  
(By E. H.)

## Report of the President

---

*To the Members of the Hawaiian Historical Society.*

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

The province of this Society, as stated in Article 1, of its Constitution, is, "to study and preserve all material pertaining to the History of Hawaii, Polynesia and the Pacific area." The spirit which animates the modern historian and the modern Historical Society, is to ascertain facts, and to separate truth from propaganda. In the past many histories have been written to promote some cause or to present the best in regard to some government or person. Today there is a right view of the function of a historian, and that is, he is not to be the advocate of a theory, but that he is to seek and to tell the truth no matter what preconceived opinion it may upset.

For example, the lives of great men, such as Washington, are not now written in the Parson Weems style, but with the intention of presenting the man as he was. If Washington, as was the custom in his day, played cards for small stakes, drank wine and even swore when he was angry, it was only what other men did, and it does not detract from the greatness of his accomplishments, to make known to the public the facts which have been known to the historian all the time.

So with Hawaiian History. We as a Society do not want to be the advocates of any theory; we want the facts, and we must seek for them with an unprejudiced mind. For example, as to the discovery of Hawaii, as a Society, we are, I believe, seeking the truth. In relation to this and other subjects, while legends and traditions must be considered, yet, these are often notoriously unreliable, because they are changed so greatly in transmission from generation to generation. A hundred years ago Ellis found traditions as to supposed visitors indistinct and confusing, varying when told at different places. Yet these must have had some foundation, but one

fact seems certain and that is the visitors did not return to their own lands to make Hawaii known to the world.

In this connection it is interesting and important to know that the work *Biblioteca Maritima Espanola*, by Don Martin Fernandez de Navarette, the great Spanish writer on naval affairs, published in Madrid, 1851, by the *Direccion de Hidrographia*, contains no mention of Gaetano or of Calderon.

In Vol. II, page 409, appears a notice of the following book by Don Manuel Quimper del Pino, published in Madrid in 1822. The title of the book translated into English is "Sandwich Islands, Description of the Archipelago Discovered by Captain Cook." This information here given has recently been received by me. Quimper was here in 1790.

In regard to Captain Cook, what we want to get are the facts in the case, and to this end members of this society are sifting as far as we can the evidence which we can find. In regard to his character, we do not desire to hide his faults, and we welcome the publication of Zimmerman's journal as clearing up some disputed points.

As President of the Hawaiian Historical Society during the past year, I have tried to arouse interest in the history of these Islands among the members and in this community. We have had three public meetings, two of which were largely attended.

The outstanding work of the Society, has been the work of the Committee appointed at a meeting last year to promote the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the landing of Captain Cook. The inception of the idea of the celebration was due to Albert P. Taylor, for an appropriate official observance, and to Bruce Cartwright, your former President, for his proposal for a Cook commemorative coin. Your Committee has had interviews with the Governor and correspondence with him, and at his request has laid before him tentative plans. The whole matter now rests with the General Committee to be appointed by him. The Committee has done all in its power.

Pursuant to one of the purposes of the Society, the President and the Trustees have sought to interest people in marking historic places. I went to Kauai at the invitation of the

Kauai Historical Society and made an address on Captain Cook, stressing the desirability of erecting a monument at Waimea to mark the landing of Cook on Hawaiian soil. I found a large and appreciative audience and a committee was appointed to carry out the idea. From information received the erection of the monument is assured, and the plan is to dedicate it during the celebration. During my visit to Kauai I made four addresses on Captain Cook to the older children in the schools at different places.

I have also corresponded with people at Kealakekua in regard to erecting a simple monument at Napoopoo, where, in the heiau, Captain Cook read the burial service over the body of William Whatman.

A good deal of correspondence has come to me as President. We have to thank Stephen W. Phillips for his continued interest in and generosity to this Society. Last year he presented us with cuts of Kamehameha for our journal, and this year he has sent reproductions of photographs of four pictures in his possession of the death of Captain Cook, 225 copies of each.

Judge Howay of New Westminster is always interested in our work and has recently obtained for us photographs of monuments and cairns erected on historic places in Canada with information in regard to each of them. This gift will be of use in guiding us as to the style of monuments.

As to membership, I have found that as a rule people need only to be asked and they are ready to join. Each member should be interested in adding to our membership. The names added last year resulted from the work of one or two persons.

We need more income, and this leads me to say that during the year we have received a bond for a thousand dollars from the Hon. George R. Carter to be added to the Endowment Fund. What we need is sufficient income in order that we may employ a secretary who shall give all her time to the work. To enlarge our income I see no reason why our annual dues should not be increased; \$2.00 a year is a small sum.

The future of the Society depends upon the interest of its members as well as the work of its officers. In thanking you

for the assistance and support given me during the past year,  
I leave the future in the hands of the members and officers  
of the Society.

Respectfully,

H. B. RESTARICK,  
President.



# Report of the Treasurer of the Hawaiian Historical Society

FROM FEBRUARY 25, 1926, TO FEBRUARY 7, 1927

## INCOME

Balance General Account.....	\$116.18	
Initiation Fee and Dues.....	437.00	
Income from McBryde Bonds.....	100.00	
Dividends on Pearl Harbor Yacht Club Shares .....	37.50	
Donation—Cost of Printing 400 Booklets.....	153.00	
		\$843.68

## DISBURSEMENTS

Printing Annual Reports.....	\$235.00	
Envelopes and Stationery .....	15.25	
Printing Booklets .....	153.00	
General—Notices, Addresses (Stencils) Etc...	76.75	
½ Income—McBryde Bonds Transferred to Savings Account .....	50.00	
Balance General Fund .....	313.68	
		\$843.68

## ENDOWMENT FUND—RECEIPTS

Balance Savings Account.....	\$668.60	
Interest on Savings.....	27.23	
Pledges .....	100.00	
½ Income—McBryde Bonds Transferred from General Account.....	50.00	
		\$845.83

## ASSETS

2—\$1,000.00 McBryde Bonds (Nos. 1262 and 1263) .....	\$2,000.00	
10 Shares Pearl Harbor Yacht Club Trust	1,000.00	
Cash—Savings Account .....	845.83	
Cash—General Account .....	313.68	
		\$4,159.51

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) S. W. KING,

Treasurer.

Audited and found correct.

(Signed) D. W. ANDERSON,

Auditor.

## Report of the Librarian

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*To the Officers and Members of  
The Hawaiian Historical Society.*

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

It is gratifying to report that considerable work has been accomplished during the year. A large accumulation of material sorted and duplicates put aside for disposal.

A few new books were purchased: "A History of Cornwall, Connecticut; a typical New England town," by Edward C. Starr. This is a very complete history of the place where Henry Opukahaia and other Hawaiian youths were educated.

"The Last Cruise of the Saginaw," by George H. Read. A thrilling account of the wreck of the United States steamer "Saginaw," on Ocean Island, and the rescue by the Hawaiian steamer "Kilauea" in 1870.

"Experience of a Medical Student in Honolulu, and on the Island of Oahu, in 1881," by Mr. Vernon Briggs of Boston.

Mr. Thrum's "Hawaiian Annual for 1927," a number of great interest.

Of gifts I would note two volumes from the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society. "A General History of Catholic Missions," by Le Baron Henrion, published in the French language in 1847; and containing brief chapters on early Catholic missions in the Sandwich Islands and the South Seas.

"A Birdseye View of the World," by Onesime Reclus, which gives a sketch of the Hawaiian Islands, the gift of Miss Chaffee.

From the Library of Hawaii, "Oceanic Languages: Their Grammatical Structure, Vocabulary and Origin," by Donald Macdonald, published in London in 1907.

Through the efforts of Bishop Restarick we have secured a copy of "The Discovery of the Hawaiian Islands," by E. W. Dahlgren of Stockholm. This gift from the author is a very valuable addition to the library.

The Penn Mutual Insurance Company of Philadelphia sent us an attractive book published for the Sesquicentennial year. Entitled, "The Independence Square Neighborhood," and illustrated with photographs, sketches and old prints; it gives a very interesting sketch of the historic city of Philadelphia.

"The History of C. Brewer & Co., Ltd., One Hundred Years in the Hawaiian Islands, 1926," by Josephine Sullivan, edited by K. C. Leebrick, is a noteworthy gift from the firm of C. Brewer & Co., Honolulu.

We are indebted to the Hawaiian Historical Commission for a copy of the new "History of Hawaii," by Ralph S. Kuykendall and Herbert E. Gregory, also for the reports of the commission, and the publication "Hawaiian Diplomatic Correspondence," compiled by Ralph S. Kuykendall.

Other gifts are: "The Book of Mormon," in the Hawaiian language, published in Salt Lake City in 1905; five new Bulletins from the Bishop Museum, and reports from government departments. Gifts of pamphlets and publications which helped to complete files are gratefully acknowledged, also several photographs of old Hawaii, which came from Miss Dorothy Rowell in New York City.

All the pamphlets in binders have been listed and seventy-five important new ones classified and catalogued. In December, sixty-eight volumes were prepared for the bindery. These included books in bad condition, files of reports and bulletins, and several paper-covered books in foreign languages, on Hawaii, Tahiti and Samoa, published many years ago, which had never been entered on our records.

The library has been used for research work by students of Hawaiian history, and I have had many inquiries concerning our publications.

Respectfully submitted,

CAROLINE P. GREEN,  
Librarian.

## Sanford Ballard Dole

1844-1926

---

[At the meeting of the Hawaiian Historical Society held on February 8, 1927, a committee was appointed, consisting of Lorrin A. Thurston, chairman; Ethel M. Damon, and Karl C. Leebrick, to write a sketch of the life of Judge Dole for the annual report of the Society with which he had been connected during its entire existence. In the absence of the chairman the remaining members of the committee, with the aid of many friends, have prepared the following memorial. In addition to his relations as member, officer and contributor to the Hawaiian Historical Society, Mr. Dole was affiliated with, and took a keen interest in the work of the Hawaiian Bar Association, the Old Guard, the Social Science Club, the Honolulu Ad Club, the Social Science Service Bureau, the Chamber of Commerce, the Pan-Pacific Union, Central Union Church, the Bishop Museum, the Honolulu Library and Reading Association, Punahou School, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Hawaiian Mission Childrens Society, and the Hawaii Chapter of the American Red Cross.]

Among Hawaii's native sons Sanford Ballard Dole stands pre-eminent as her foremost citizen. Lawyer, writer, speaker, editor, swimmer, yachtsman, judge, president, governor,—thus his titles multiply. Perhaps he would himself have said that his chief claim to eminence was his love for his native land which bound together the many features of his long career.

The outstanding events of his life are quickly told. Not so, however, his essential value. Born on April 23rd, 1844, at Punahou, the second son of Reverend Daniel and Mrs. Emily Ballard Dole, American Protestant missionaries from Maine, his childhood and youth on Oahu and Kauai were similar to those of other mission sons of pioneer days. Educated at Punahou School, of which his father was the first president, and of which he himself was later a trustee for forty-eight years, Sanford Dole in 1865 went on to the Eastern States and studied for a year at Williams College. A year of law study in the office of William T. Brigham followed, as also in 1867 his admission to practice law in the courts of Suffolk County, Massachusetts. Returning to Honolulu the following year, he opened his own small office on Fort Street.

In 1873 Mr. Dole went "back east" for his bride, Anna P. Cate of Castine, Maine, who was a devoted helpmeet to him

throughout the half century of his arduous public life. During the decade following his marriage Mr. Dole edited *The Islander*, "a weekly journal devoted to Hawaiian Interests, Scientific Researches, Literature, Home and Foreign Affairs"; was an associate editor on the *Planters' Monthly*; and took an active interest in political matters, beside conducting a busy law practice. In 1884 and again in 1886 he was elected to the Hawaiian Legislature. From 1887 to 1893 he occupied a seat on the supreme bench of the kingdom. In 1887 he was prominent in the reform party which obtained a new and more liberal constitution from King Kalakaua. Called in 1893 to head the Provisional Government of the Islands, Mr. Dole became Hawaii's political leader, and he continued to fill that position during the difficult transition period of the next ten years. Certainly no outsider, and probably no other son of Hawaii even, could have so wisely and so tactfully administered the new forms of government, acceptable as an executive to Hawaiians and Americans alike. Within that time he served as president, first of the Provisional Government and then of the Republic of Hawaii; as commander-in-chief of the military forces of the republic in insurrectionary times; as leading advocate of the annexation of Hawaii to the United States; as one of the five commissioners who drafted the new Organic Act which became the constitution of the Territory of Hawaii; and as the first governor of the Territory, entering office when countless adjustments were necessitated by the new order of things, and when he himself was well-nigh exhausted by his long and arduous tenure of public office. His response to the clear call of patriotic duty, however, never faltered.

On his retirement from the governorship in 1903, Mr. Dole was appointed to the Federal bench where he served with distinction for more than twelve years, retiring to private life in 1916. The death of Mrs. Dole in 1918 left his last years lonely, but until his eighty-second birthday he maintained in the Emma Street home the cordial hospitality which had become so much a part of the life of Honolulu. During April and May of that year, 1926, partial strokes of paralysis brought him gradually to his death, which occurred on June 9th. His

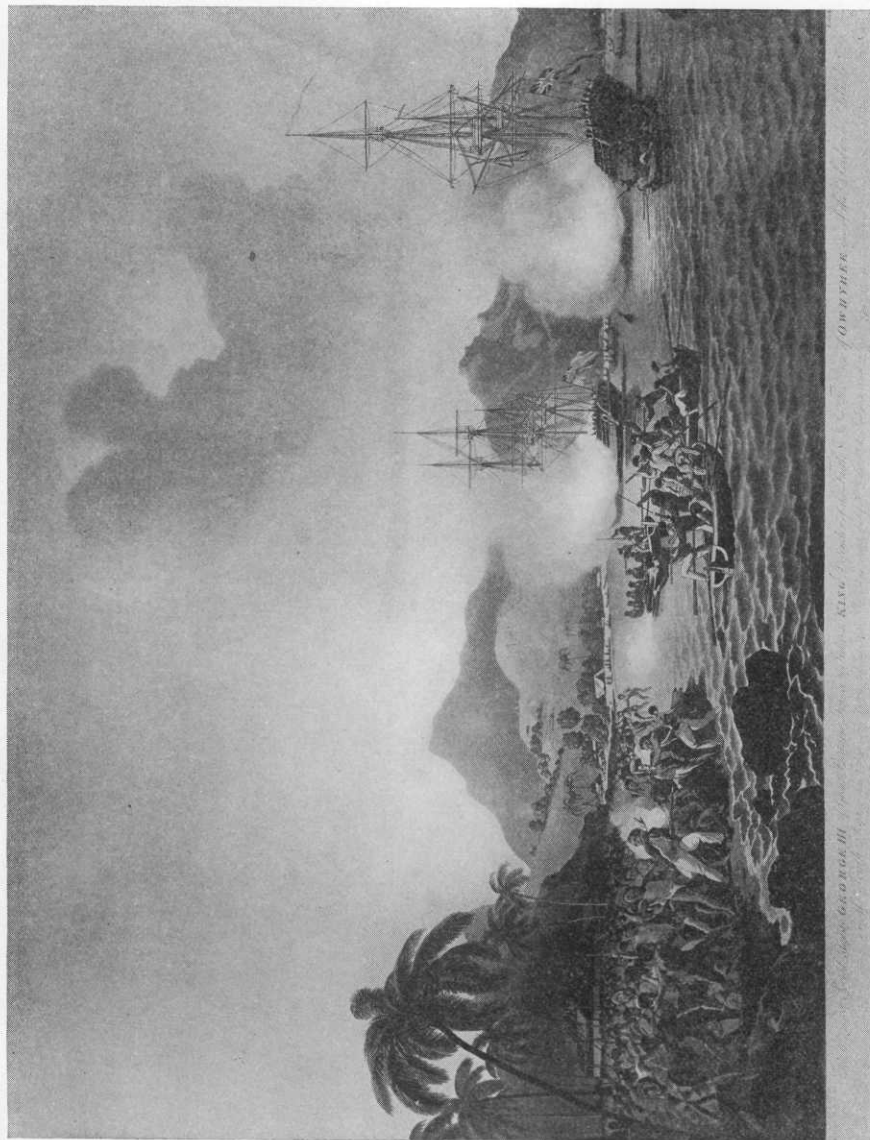


burial was accompanied by all the official and private honors which Hawaii could bestow. His grave is beside that of his wife in the little mission cemetery at Kawaiahae.

Eighty-two years form a long span of human life. The years from 1844 to 1926 cover momentous changes in the history of the Hawaiian Islands. And when the life of a man has been for more than half a century intimately connected with those political developments, an estimate of its place in history becomes a matter of that history itself. To those now living who knew and loved the quiet modesty of this man, his calm judgment, swift condemnation of wrong, genial friendship, ready cooperation, staunch patriotism—above all, his undying devotion to everything that is best in Hawaii—to those of us who recall the vivid memory of all this that was Judge Dole, an accurate estimate of his worth to his native land becomes a task well-nigh impossible.

By certain of his critics Judge Dole was sometimes called "merely a figurehead." A figurehead he was not. Rather, a calm, wise pilot, standing at the helm during troublous days, sometimes erring as he himself often admitted, but steering with sincere purpose and steady, courageous hand and eye. As Americans we look back to the great figure of Abraham Lincoln. As Hawaiians we look back with a similar pride to the notable figure of Sanford Dole in our own history—notable, and noble.





THE DEATH OF CAPTAIN JAMES COOK  
FROM AN AQUATINT BY JUKES, AFTER A DRAWING MADE ON THE SPOT BY JAMES CLEVELLEY,  
IN THE COLLECTION OF STEPHEN W. PHILLIPS OF SALEM, MASSACHUSETTS.

## Samoa: Old and New

By HUGH C. TENNENT

---

You have other and very respectable fare tonight and the time I must take is limited, so in treating my subject I have had to follow a process of elimination. Was I to be grave or gay? to render an Iliad of this dignified people, of the deeds of men and gods: for their storied past, as I have heard it and seen it acted in remote villages, could supply an epic to the world as heroic as the story of Troy and the wanderings of Ulysses. Or, I would love to tell you of the heartbeats of the sea, as it thunders on the reef: its ceaseless rhythm, growing or dying in the sough of the tradewind. And of the tradewind as it beats interminably on palms, crowding and bending over the sea to receive the winds benediction, I could tell you an idyl of this people, who live on the white sands under these palms: a people that you cannot understand until you, too, have listened to the reef beat and the song of the palms, and listened through the night, listened in the dawn when those brown, swaying, laughing forms melt into the bush on their way to their taro patches. And listened not with your ears only, but with your soul and body. For these people hold naturally and unconsciously that secret of culture that we grope for. What have we, who seek to eliminate all waste motion, who know that time and minutes are golden, what secret have we to guide us better than living within that abiding truth: the rhythm of the Universe? These people express it, simply and unconsciously. By rhythm is comprehended orderliness, never doing anything that is ugly, a ceremony in gayety and sorrow, laughter and repose, oratory and silence.

Or I could so easily burlesque these people for you, tell you of their fickleness, their childish desire to forsake all that they have for the mess of pottage our civilization has to give them. Poor devils, they are the first to fling away a rich heritage for gauds, a science of living for simple arithmetic and

how to cheat in trader's stores, free limbs and a Greek torso for trousers and a collar and a tie. It is very funny.

But instead I have chosen the most deadly dull approach to my subject: neither heroic, idyllic or flippant—the prosaic: what happens to the Samoans when they meet us, and surely there is nothing in the world so prosaic as *us*.

But through the efforts of various societies we are all very much concentrated on the future of the Pacific. Now that we westerns have arrived in the Pacific, the Pacific is to be remade, or so we sometimes think. Let us first consider Samoa in the larger scheme of things.

Looking at this map I wish to draw your attention to certain geographic forms of the land masses and islands of the Pacific. Just as a ripple in a pond or the seashore leaves a delicate pattern on the sand or mud, so an ocean, following similar impulses, draws symmetrical patterns with continents instead of mud. If I were well versed in cosmography, which I am not, I might attempt to show further the many manifestations of rhythm in nature: I have already spoken of the Samoans, as masters of rhythm, possessing a science of living. Look at this bold sweep of islands starting from Japan and sweeping south in curves through Formosa, the Philippines, Borneo, Celebes, New Guinea, the Solomons, Fiji, Tonga, Samoa, with Tahiti and the Paumotus on the extreme right. It is not difficult to imagine that there was more land within that sweep in a dim past. These islands here, like stars in the Milky Way, are many of them mountain tops with coral reefs and enclosed lagoons growing around them. Between these islands intercourse was not infrequent. Fishing fleets met at sea and sometimes friendly visits were made, although more often plunder was the object of a visit. Even in my days in Samoa, a boy and two girls ran away from an island in the Gilberts in a small outrigger canoe, desiring to reach Samoa to go to school, and whether by chance or rough seamanship made the island of Savaii—nearly starved. A fugitive from justice in the Cook group stole a boat and also arrived in Samoa. There is no doubt that all these islands were in communication with each other and that migrations



by gradual process, could push from Asia to the remote ends of our land curves: The Paumotus, Marquesas and Hawaii.

Then another law comes into operation applying in this case to human progress. The impact of one race or civilization breaking upon the isolation and solitude in which another race or civilization has lived has dire results for one or the other. The Pacific in this century has witnessed the operation of this law before our eyes. The ancient institutions of Chinese civilization are in smoking ruins: the people themselves, in those areas that have had contact with Western civilization, are in a ferment, and the results are going to be very bad for themselves or for us. And notice that it is not because we make war upon the Chinese, or introduce new diseases, or cause an economic dearth that this trouble comes upon them. Many thinkers amongst us including famous divines, attribute this ill effect to the methods we have used to proselytise Chinese. It is stated that we, in our earnest endeavors to introduce Christianity, undermined the ancient philosophies of China, that which formed the basis of the Chinese character. Had we been less militant and more farseeing, the teaching of Christianity would not have been allowed to ruthlessly oppose, but to take root naturally, if slowly, making use of and in sympathy with the faiths and philosophies of China.

In Polynesia we have tended to destroy the loyalties and beliefs of these people, the elusive structure of their corporate life. In doing so we have cast them adrift.

We have endeavored to give them government and Christianity, but we were too many, too heavy handed and impatient; they too few and childlike. They could not adapt themselves in time and have become mere hangers on to our civilization. The disease we introduced, the rum trader, and the blackbirders killed many, but I believe that the more potent instrument of the Polynesian going to the wall, has been that more intangible factor: the destruction of their morale resulting from the mere impact of our civilization upon the simple structure of their living. We can hardly help ourselves: it is a law of progress governing the human race. The Polynesians themselves were probably, in migrating into the Pacific islands, the destroyers of a race that lived there before them.

A small band of Polynesians, later to be called the Maoris, migrated to New Zealand at a date variously set at from 600 to 1100 years ago and found a gentle people inhabiting the country. In the course of time they destroyed or absorbed these people until, when the white people came there were only a few called the Morioris, inhabiting an outlying group of islands, the Chathams. These people have since died out entirely.

The Samoans are interesting to us because, of all the Polynesian people, they are the most vigorous and have retained their social structure and modes of living. In population they have held their own. In *The Friend*, 1845, page 170, William Mills, a missionary, estimated the population at from 50,000 to 60,000. Today the population is about 50,000.

I am inclined to think that the preliminary estimates of population, as far back as 1845, were exaggerated in view of the fact that very few Samoans lived far from the Coast, thus giving the impression that the island was more thickly inhabited than it actually was.

I am going to attempt to set out the reasons why these Samoans have survived and remained a vital people while other Polynesians have declined. In the first place, I think it is largely due to the central position in the Pacific held by Samoa. It escaped the slave raids from Chile and Peru which depopulated the Marquesas and the Paumotus on the one hand, and on the other, the blackbirding carried on in the New Hebrides and Solomons and contiguous groups for the benefit largely of Queensland sugar plantations. Samoa had several visitations from gentlemen of this character. In *The Friend*, September 18, 1863, the following shipping notes are taken from a report forwarded from Samoa:

"The 'Desdemona,' of New Bedford, Captain Bates, had just sailed from Apia, with 800 barrels of sperm oil, and 35 months out.

"The ship 'Caesar Godeffroy,' Captain Fruchtenicht (600 tons), was loading for home.

"We regret to learn that several vessels bearing the Peruvian flag, had been for some weeks cruising amongst the Samoa and neighboring islands, kidnapping natives. In some instances force had been employed to capture the unsuspect-

ing islanders. On some of the smaller islands, out of populations numbering several hundreds, not more than 15 or 20 people have been left, including the native missionary teachers. One vessel on board of which dysentery had appeared amongst the unfortunate natives, had run down to Sunday Islands, in the neighborhood of New Zealand, where, having landed the sick, the disease spread so virulently that the white settlers were nearly all carried off. The few who survived have since removed to this port. The dead and dying natives were left abandoned on the sands of the beach, and the vessel started to kidnap another cargo."

The second reason is due to the thoroughness with which the missionaries established themselves in Samoa and obtained influence among the natives. In 1830 the London Missionary Society established itself and to this day have been left in almost undisputed missionary control of the group. The Samoans accepted the missionaries much more readily than in most other groups, and the L. M. S., having undisputed control, soon grew in influence and used it wisely.

The third and perhaps most important reason can be ascribed to the jealousy of the three powers—Great Britain, Germany, and the United States—which prevented either one of them obtaining a paramount influence in the islands until as recently as 1899. This meant that the Samoans, except for the district immediately surrounding Apia, remained under the control of their Samoan chief, and it was not safe for traders and others to establish themselves in the islands.

The fourth reason is the constant warfare that took place in Samoa until the date of 1899, when finally government was established by Germany and the United States in different parts of the group. The jealousy and the quarrels of the powers, which found their counterpart in the intermittent warfare taking place between rival Samoan high chiefs, had the effect of maintaining the social stature of the Samoans. The tendency under such conditions was to strengthen the hands of the people's leaders (the high chiefs), and to a conservatism which restricted the new ideas and influences of the white man's civilization. Warfare made it necessary for the Samoans to remain in constant training, and this training was arduous, as anyone who has seen the oldtime martial

dances knows. These dances required a spartan mode of living. Warfare kept the natives comparatively poor and kept them to a simple mode of living and away from such luxuries as houses, clothes, and tinned food.

As a corollary to the above reasons may be mentioned the habits of the Samoans. Their extreme love of dancing for young and old; dances for all occasions in which all took part; their indifference to strong drink. The Kava as drunk by the Samoans is an innocuous drink and they have little desire for anything else. Undoubtedly the missionaries have aided this temperate condition. Then there is their cleanliness, particularly in their sex habits, and the fact that they have not yet adopted European clothes to any extent. You will not find six pairs of trousers amongst all the Samoans. To consider further this question it is necessary here to give a short historical account. There is no time to supply anything other than some short notes. The missionaries established themselves in 1830. In 1850 the English, German and United States governments had established commercial agents in Apia and from then trading stations and a few plantations commenced to be established. Also began the minor bickerings and jealousy between the nationals of the above three powers. In 1873 Colonel A. B. Steinberger was sent by the United States government to Samoa to report on conditions. He returned to Washington and his report was presented in Congress in April, 1874, and he returned again in that year bearing letters from President Grant and presents from the American government to the high chief, or king, of Samoa. Steinberger's mission ended when he presented his letter and presents in Samoa, but he commenced a diplomacy on his own account and formed a government with himself as prime minister, or virtual dictator. His actions were repudiated by the United States government in 1876, and in that year he fell into difficulties with the other governments and after some fighting was captured and deported in the British gunboat "Barracouta." Shortly after his government fell. In 1878 the chief Mamea went to the United States and made a treaty permitting the United States to establish a coal station at Pago Pago, while the United States undertook to use its good

offices in maintaining good relations between the Samoan and the other powers. This is the first instance of the United States undertaking an entangling alliance outside America, and it soon led to trouble. The other two powers considered that the United States had stolen a march upon them, so, in the following year, 1879, both Germany and England made similar treaties whereby Samoa granted them coaling stations. Unfortunately for them the United States had secured the only good coaling station in the group.

In 1885 Dr. Stuebel, the German Consul General, took possession of the municipality of Apia in the name of his government, which action was the cause of much disorder. In 1887 a conference between the three powers was held at Washington, but this broke up to give the representatives attending time to consult their home governments, but in the meantime Germany, through its consul in Samoa, declared war on the Samoan king, or principal high chief Malietoa, dethroning and deporting him. Tamasese was declared to be king with Capt. Brandeis, a German, as adviser.

Malietoa, before leaving Samoa, deputed the High Chief Mataafa to lead in his stead, and this chief, with his own and Malietoa's adherents, made war on Tamasese, and in 1889 completed his defeat. Following the action of the German Government in deposing Malietoa and seizing Apia, the feeling between the three powers over Samoan affairs was high, while in Samoa itself, Apia was practically divided into two camps, the Germans in one and the British and Americans in the other, each surreptitiously aiding the contending Samoan chiefs. In March, 1889, seven warships were anchored in Apia harbor, three German, three American, and one British ship, and, although it is not a matter of official record, it is stated by responsible persons sharing the councils of that time, that on certain events happening, the British and American ships would have opened fire on the German vessels. What might easily have entailed a very serious situation between these three powers was strangely averted by the great hurricane of 1889, when all these warships, with the sole exception of the British ship "Calliope," were destroyed with great loss of life. Apia is an unsafe harbor, and these ships had ample

warning from ominously falling barometers to put to sea, but feeling and jealousy was so high that none would make the first move. To the lasting credit of the Samoans, be it said, that hostilities were temporarily abandoned while attempts were made to save the drowning sailors.

This disaster brought the powers together, and on June 14th, 1889, the Berlin Treaty was concluded and later agreed to by Samoa.

This treaty declared the independence and neutrality of all the Samoan islands; set up a municipal area and government for Apia to be controlled by Europeans—a condition like the present Chinese concessions; provided for the appointment of a chief justice of Samoa to be appointed by the King of Norway and Sweden, and confirmed Malietoa as king.

The Berlin Treaty was not a success and the strained feelings between the Germans on the one hand and the British and Americans on the other continued. In 1893 Mataafa rebelled against his former ally, Malietoa, as he was never reconciled to Malietoa's recognition as king. Many lives were sacrificed, but finally Mataafa was defeated, and with twelve other chiefs, was deported to the Marshall Islands. In this the three powers concurred, all sharing in the expense. The Mataafa party remained sullen and defiant. In 1898 King Malietoa died, but before dying requested the powers to return Mataafa to his native islands. This was done, but before Mataafa was permitted to land he was required to sign a declaration, drawn up by the Imperial German consul, to the effect that he would henceforth refrain from taking any part in the politics of the country. The Germans afterwards ignored this declaration and supported Mataafa in hostilities against the young Malietoa. Mataafa gained the ascendancy, and proclaimed himself king, and set up a provisional government which the consuls recognized temporarily to avoid further bloodshed.

In March, 1899, the U. S. Flagship "Philadelphia" arrived, and a conference between the officers commanding the naval vessels of the three powers and the consuls was held. With the Germans dissenting it was decided that Mataafa must withdraw from Apia and cease hostilities, and that Malietoa

was legally the king. Admiral Kautz of the "Philadelphia" issued orders on behalf of the conference, but these were openly opposed by German proclamation. For the first time in the history of the United States and Great Britain their armed forces combined in war. It must be said, however, that their joint efforts were not much to the credit of either of them. From the safe vantage point of a warship, the forces and villages of Mataafa were shelled. Mataafa vigorously responded, carrying the fighting right into Apia. A naval force making a sortie beyond Apia was soundly licked, with loss of guns, three officers and several other ranks being killed.

This serious news once more stirred the home governments of the three nations to take decisive action. A commission of three men, one from each power, was sent to take over the government temporarily and restore peace. The American Commissioner was Mr. Bartlett Tripp. The joint commission arrived at Apia on May 13th, 1899, and immediately restored order. The Samoans laid down their arms, and Malietoa and Mataafa agreed to abide by the decisions of the commission. The three powers then decided that the only way to govern Samoa was to divide the islands between Germany and the United States, the British withdrawing altogether on Germany agreeing to recognize British claims elsewhere.

There are now two Samoas—American and British (the British having ousted the Germans during the late war)—but to the Samoans it is still all Samoa, and they are not vastly interested whether the Star and Stripes, the Imperial German Eagle, or the Union Jack wave over them. As American Samoa is very small, containing at that time only one-sixth of the population, and as policy in American Samoa has generally coincided with that in German (now British) Samoa, I will speak more often of the Samoa administrated from Apia.

In such ways does providence work that these years of undignified squabbling by the powers, accompanied by intermittent warfare amongst the Samoans, did, in my humble opinion, achieve the salvation of the Samoans. In which case we need to revise the saying "the blessings of Peace." The 20th century brought a better sympathy and understanding of native races, but had Samoa enjoyed the blessings and arts of peace



in the 19th century, by the time the 20th century had arrived, they would have gold in their teeth, but little or no land; trousers and shirts, but nothing to speak of in the way of chests.

The Germans quickly set up a government in Apia and gradually extended effective control throughout their portion of the group. It was not, however, until about 1906 that the more serious of war alarms had died away. Up to that time there were several warlike demonstrations, and it was necessary to deport several chiefs. From that time the authority of the chiefs has been thrown on the side of cooperation with the government.

So intimately is the question of land tenancy and ownership bound up with the social structure of any race that it is essential to deal with the Samoa land question.

It was easy enough in the old days for a European to become, in prospect, a large landowner. The obliging Samoan sold you his land and his neighbors' with ease and unconcern until the whole group was sold many times over. It was a different matter, however, when you endeavored to enter into possession. But under the treaty of 1889 a land commission was set up and this commission threw out all claims to land unless it could be shown that adequate compensation had been paid and to the right people. Not much land was acquired after that time, partly because of the unsettled nature of the country and the jealousy with which the various nationals watched one another. When America and Germany divided the islands, both governments refused to allow any further alienation of land. As it is, between one-fourth and one-fifth of the land was alienated and is held in fee simple by Europeans. American Samoa is small and mountainous, and has been influenced in its policy by the policy of the rest of Samoa, so we will speak of what became German Samoa from 1899. I have knowledge of several Colonial administrations, but I know of none who were so fortunate in possessing such a governor as Dr. Solf, who was appointed by Germany as first governor to guide the affairs of Samoa. Since the war he has been made Minister of Foreign Affairs for the German Republic and First Ambassador to Japan representing the



Republic. He had an unfailing sense of humor, essential if you have to govern people like the Samoans, was fair and just to all other nationals, employed the arts of persuasion and benignity, but could be very firm when the occasion demanded it. His policy was to maintain the Samoan social order and to govern through the chiefs and to throw on them the responsibility for maintaining order. This was conservatism. A law was passed forbidding the further alienation of land and another law making it illegal to give financial credit to a Samoan. To save them their land and put them on a cash basis is pretty sound policy. The Samoans could neither give away or pawn their and their children's heritage. Native land is held and occupied according to native custom, or native common law. Nobody had a title to it, but the "pule" or dignity attaching to it, went along with certain titles of dignity and rank. The chief became a sort of trustee, and administered the land for the benefit of the whole village or family. He directed the cultivation and saw that everybody got a proper share of the food produced. Now these titles of dignity and rank were by election, they did not descend by right of primogeniture, the best man offering or some compromise candidate was elected. In one case, to avoid a bitter division, a dog was elected. The pulu of the land held by greater chiefs, was again held in subdivisions by lesser chiefs, and, again, amongst the small family units. As deaths occurred or quarrels took place, these subdivision boundaries shifted.

As an example, about 1921, a certain American bootlegger, said to have fled from California for his country's good, arrived in Fiji and there met a Samoan girl, the sister of the Samoan High Chief Tamasese. With an eye to business he married the lady and presented himself in Samoa to Tamasese to claim some of his kingly domains. "Yes," said Tamasese, "all these lands as far as you can see are mine," and he generously carved out a slice of beautiful country for his new brother-in-law. At the same time he touched his brother-in-law for a friendly loan of \$1,000 for pressing engagements. Our friend purchased fencing wire and posts and proceeded to enclose his princely domain. Some rude Samoans present-

ed themselves and told him to clear out and take his fencing wire with him. Indignant, our ex-bootlegger in search of an island kingdom, went further into the matter of his title. It was true that Tamasese owned the land, the "pule" was his; but it was also true that the other Samoans owned everything that grew on it. As far as I know our friend still lacks the \$1,000.00.

It will be seen that the social structure is, in many respects, very democratic. In fact it is not unlike sovietism. In one of his books Tolstoy used his enquiry into a somewhat similar state of society which existed in Fiji as the basis of his economic treatises, and it is not impossible that the Russian Revolutionary reformers have wittingly or unwittingly taken their ideas from these Polynesian sources. The new marriage law in Russia provides, according to the press, that living together constitutes marriage; it is advisable but not necessary to register the marriage. Divorce can be obtained by simply one person notifying the proper authority, which he can do without the consent or even the knowledge of the other party. In Samoa it is the same. Marriage consists in taking a woman under your roof. It is usual but not always the case to register these marriages and the marriage can be broken up by either party leaving the other. It works well enough in Samoa. The children are looked after by the village.

Of course, a system of communism in land and marriage is sound enough where food rots in quantities on the ground; but it is very doubtful if it can succeed in such a complex state of society as we have produced.

Now I have called my paper "Samoa: Old and New." The Samoa I have described is passing.

Up to about 1908 the German policy was to maintain the power of the chiefs—particularly the influential ones. They did not attempt innovations. Thus until about 20 years ago it may be said that political conditions amongst the Samoans were as they had always been. However, as the high chiefs were dangerous rallying points, the tendency has been since that time, to advance the lower official chiefs in influence until today political power is held principally by the council of Fai-

pules—a body of chiefs trained through the holding of lesser official appointments to uphold the policy of the government.

As in most countries, the close of the world war brought the greatest change to Samoa. British forces occupied German Samoa in 1914. The close of 1918 brought a terrible calamity—the influenza. One-fifth of the population of British Samoa, over 8,000, perished. This deadly epidemic affected the old mostly, and a majority of the influential chiefs were removed in one fell swoop. The chiefs that took their place lacked experience and authority, and from then it became apparent that the power of the chiefs was waning. Then came the economic crisis of 1920 when the Samoans found that a basket of copra could buy almost nothing at the stores where merchants were still trying to maintain prices. Quite on their own initiative the Samoans began a boycott. This movement began in American Samoa and spread to British Samoa, the Samoans going back to Tapa cloth, lava lavas (loin cloths), and refusing to buy in the stores. Undoubtedly a great soreness had developed amongst the people as the result of the influenza death roll, and the fall in the value of the one product, copra, that they had to barter with. The New Zealand Government, which had now received the mandate for Western Samoa, met the situation by promising a policy which would give more power to the Samoan Council of Faipules, and by undertaking numerous public works such as the building of bridges and the providing of water supplies, but chiefly by promising teachers and schools. It is this last which is the most potent of all influences now at work changing the old Samoa. The Samoans are but children, and they desire education for their boys above all things, thinking, as they thought nearly a century before when Christianity was embraced, that the secret of European dominance is to be found therein. Education they must have; for this race will surely decline if it is not helped forward; but unless organized education is wisely applied—oh! so wisely that it seems beyond our ability to supply—it may with honest intentions and clumsy fingers, tear aside the elaborate network of native customs and habits which have evolved for deep reasons through long generations. An education which seeks to make

the natives in our own image and likeness, which has as its objective, proficiency certificates in the three R's, and essays on Julius Caesar and Lord Nelson, too often means demoralization and the robbing of native life of its vigor for an empty and unsatisfying shell. The educated Samoan who has been to college, develops a superiority complex and steps outside the intricate system which still binds his kin into one people. It will be a grave error if the New Zealand Government leads the Samoan too rapidly on—and yet it is the Samoan who so eagerly reaches out for what might be either his downfall or his salvation.

Just as important in its effect on native life is the new land policy for Samoa which has just been enacted as a law. Land is to be individualized, or rather the machinery is there to affect land individualization as the Samoans request it. The land can never pass into the hands of Europeans, it cannot be sold or pledged for a loan; it must stay in the family until the family dies out, when it reverts back to the State to be re-allotted to another family. The land is secured to the Samoans for ever or for as long as they exist, but individualization is the death knell of the old order; communism and the leadership of the chiefs as a great social system must pass. The argument for individualism is very evident; war and the hard labor necessary to win a sustenance from the soil no longer, in this century, keeps the native in hard training. Individualism may supply him with the incentive of private ambition or gain. Communism submerges the individual and permits the lazy to drag upon the industrious—or the would-be industrious. Economically speaking, Samoa is at a standstill, and the argument for individualization seems unanswerable. But if I haven't written this paper in vain, you will have sensed the depth and strength of the Samoan social order, its closely knit system with its roots deep, not only in a dim, forgotten past, but entwined in the very soul of each individual Samoan. The dignity and authority of the chief is a growth of this communism, paradoxical as it may seem, for in the last analysis he is the controller of food. Individualize land and his dignity and authority will become a picturesque relic. Tempt the Samoan out of this citadel wherein, in the

past, he has found strength and some salvation; and it may be, with his defences down, he will be easily undone and make a poor showing, each seeking his own. As said before, the Samoan is only too anxious for these innovations himself. He sees what we have achieved under individualism, but he is not wise enough to recognize what he is sacrificing in turning from the old order to the new. The enacting of a law is often unimportant; it is the operation of it that makes for good and ill; and the New Zealand Government, who have had much experience with the Maoris, have the opportunity to guide these people along a difficult and thorny road. The stake is great, gradual extermination or the conserving and strengthening of a fine and vital race.

Whatever the result, these new policies are the passing of old Samoa.

A few words, in closing, might be said of American Samoa. There, also, new things are demanded, and Congress is petitioned to end the "impossible" control by the Navy Department; to bring in civil government, set up proper courts and provide attorneys to wrangle in them; and present the Samoans with citizenship within the United States. However priceless may be citizenship within the United States to others, I plead that the Samoans be allowed to retain their citizenship of their own Utopia a few years longer. Justice as dispensed in Samoa by the Samoan courts and the Navy is rough and ready, but, however rough, it is better for those people in their present state of society that it is ready, better than the interminable delays and the creaking machinery of American courts of justice. A little agitation in Congress, and a few strokes of the pen, and American Samoa can be given a civil constitution and all that that implies, but as one who loves America and also has affection for these Samoan children, I say "Beware—lest you know not what you do."

## John M. Gamble

By EDWIN NORTH McCLELLAN

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He had the will to survive! He brought his ship to port when Hope was ghastly! Five months of Hell in the Marquesas! Mutinies, murders, fever! A voyage of seventeen days to Hawaii! Wounded and fevered, he inspired a crew of eight souls, of which only two were fit for duty! No chart on board and without the usual instruments for navigating! And he sailed his ship to Honolulu, where he could not anchor, for he had no anchor. That vessel was the United States ship *Sir Andrew Hammond*, pierced for twenty guns, commissioned for sixteen, but mounting only twelve! Her commanding officer was First Lieutenant John M. Gamble, of the United States Marines! That voyage ranks with the greatest of the Pacific! Gamble's vessel was the first American ship-of-war to visit Hawaiian waters, arriving about twelve years before the U. S. S. *Dolphin* (John Percival)! The U. S. S. *Sir Andrew Hammond* (John M. Gamble) was the first United States warship to enter Honolulu harbor! She also was probably the first warship of any country to float in that harbor! The *Sir Andrew Hammond* was not an "auxiliary!" She was an armed letter-of-marque when captured from the British by Captain David Porter who put her into commission as a regular warship of the United States! She was as "regular" a United States warship as hundreds of others! But this is anticipating. Let us look at Lieutenant Gamble for a few moments!

Fearless, intelligent, noble, and gentle! Stalwart son of revolutionary ancestors! His father fought in the First War with Great Britain for American principles! The son fought in the Second War with Great Britain that those same American principles might survive! A Second Lieutenant in the United States Marine Corps at the age of nineteen! A First Lieutenant at the age of twenty-four commanding the first American war-vessel ever to visit Hawaii! There you have



THE DEATH OF CAPTAIN JAMES COOK  
FROM AN ENGRAVING, AFTER THE PAINTING BY GARTER, BY HALL, SMITH AND THORNTWHAITE,  
IN THE COLLECTION OF STEPHEN W. PHILLIPS OF SALEM, MASSACHUSETTS.







John M. Gamble, an American officer and gentleman, of whose character his fellow citizens wrote in this sincere fashion:

"In feelings, manners and character," John M. Gamble "was thoroughly a gentleman. As an officer, amiable, gentle, yet firm, he knew how to conciliate the authority of command, with due consideration for the feelings of all subordinate to him. As a member of the Episcopal Church, he was strictly, yet unostentatiously, observant of his religious duties. In his private relations he was exemplary."<sup>1</sup> He was a Freemason.<sup>2</sup> His "merits did not exist alone in his military career. In all the relations of life," John M. Gamble "was eminently conspicuous for strict honor and integrity of purpose, and his duties as husband, father, and friend, were always performed in a manner to excite admiration."<sup>3</sup> His brother-officers were proud of him as well as of his achievements. Eight of the most gallant Marine officers of the period, including the Brigadier-General Commandant, who was a noted warrior, in a joint eulogy to the Secretary of the Navy, referred to John M. Gamble as "one of the bravest and most estimable officers," and described his service as of so "arduous, responsible and gallant a character as to place" his name "high on the roll of honorable distinction," leaving "to his children an almost sacred claim to protection and patronage of the Country."<sup>4</sup>

The visit of this American war-vessel to Hawaii in 1814 involves the story of Lieutenant Gamble before he arrived in Hawaii, a tale that well proves the saying that truth is stranger than fiction—especially in the South Seas.<sup>5</sup> The year was 1814—one hundred and thirteen years ago. And the story of Lieutenant Gamble's part in that Hawaiian year of 1814 is an epic theme worthy of the time of a great artist.

The South Seas have gloated over many a tragic happening. The sun-sparkling waters of the South Pacific have washed out many a ludicrous comedy. Romance, daring, and adventure, appear and disappear unrecorded beneath the waving waters. The southern waters of the Great Ocean roll on and on—and seldom tell. The sun sets as colorfully as before. The moon silvers the reflecting waters as always. Mirth and madness matter but little to those Water-Sphinxes. What the

Mystery-Waters do not engulf the years of Time wash away—often leaving only the unimportant recorded.

But this indomitable American Gamble did emerge from those Southern Waterlands. He outwitted Fate and lived, so that the recording-hand of History might divulge. He frustrated the terrors of land, water, fire, and humans. He gallantly overcame the odds and won his way North by virtue of his Will and Soul. Plunging through the bloody fog he finally entered the Fair-Haven of Honolulu.

But while the year 1814 carries the dramatic climax of the career of this remarkable young American, let us restrain our curiosity and scan time prior to that year so historic in Hawaiian annals. Space is a miser and time is fleeting, so we must be content with a few facts concerning this youthful Marine officer.

His father was Major William Gamble, who served with distinction in the American Revolution. Major William Gamble had four sons of whom John was the second. The eldest boy was Captain Thomas Gamble, who died in the Mediterranean about 1818 while in command of the U. S. S. *Eric*. Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel John M. Gamble, U. S. Marine Corps, our subject, died in 1836. Lieutenant Peter Gamble was killed in the Battle of Lake Chaplain while serving as First Lieutenant of Commodore MacDonough's flagship.<sup>1</sup> Strangely enough this Battle of Lake Champlain formed an intimate link of the chain that early bound together America and Hawaii. Robert Young (son of John Young and an Hawaiian mother) served on one of the American vessels in this battle and was taken prisoner by the British. There you had American and Hawaiian serving together under the Stars and Stripes in an American naval victory over Great Britain. And in the same year Peter Gamble's brother commanded his ship into Honolulu harbor.<sup>6</sup> The youngest brother, Lieutenant Francis Gamble, died in the West Indies while commanding a naval schooner on that station.<sup>1</sup>

John M. Gamble was commissioned a Second Lieutenant in the Marine Corps by President Thomas Jefferson on January 16, 1809; was promoted to First Lieutenant on March 5, 1811; to Captain on June 18, 1814 (while in Hawaii); and to Major

on July 1, 1834. He was brevetted twice—to Major on April 19, 1816, and to Lieutenant-Colonel on March 3, 1827. He married the second daughter of John Lang,<sup>1</sup> and at least one son and one daughter resulted from the union. John was the son's name. The daughter, Mary, was married to Lieutenant W. Decatur Hurst, U. S. Navy, on November 16, 1848.<sup>7</sup> We will now resume our narrative.

On the 23d of September, 1811, First Lieutenant Gamble was ordered to take command of the guard of Marines on board the frigate *Essex*, and in June, 1812, war was declared against Great Britain.<sup>4</sup>

Two shipmates of Lieutenant Gamble on the *Essex* (commanded by Captain David Porter) figured prominently in later Hawaiian history. They were Lieutenant William (Compton Bolton) Finch, who visited Honolulu in 1829 aboard the *Vincennes*, and Lieutenant John Downes, who, in 1832, arrived at Honolulu on board the *Potomac*. Another shipmate was Midshipman David G. Farragut.<sup>8</sup>

The *Essex* captured the British sloop-of-war *Alert* in August, 1812.<sup>9</sup> It is impracticable to give all the details of the voyage of the *Essex* from Delaware Bay to the South Pacific via Cape Horn.<sup>27</sup> We must be satisfied to hear of only those incidents in which the subject of this sketch participated. The *Essex* was nominally one of a squadron of three vessels, under Commodore Bainbridge, the others being the *Constitution* and *Hornet*. Circumstances, however, prevented them from acting in concert. The *Essex* sailed from the United States late in October, 1812.<sup>10</sup>

Crossing the equator on December 11, 1812, the *Essex* captured the packet *Nocton* the following day. Lieutenant Finch was placed in command of the prize.<sup>11</sup>

By February, 1813, the *Essex* was well in the Pacific. The middle of March found her at Valparaiso. Here Captain Porter learned that Chile had declared itself independent of Spain; also that the Spanish Viceroy of Peru had sent out cruisers to capture American ships. About the 26th of March the Peruvian privateer *Nereyda* was captured, disarmed, and released.<sup>12</sup>

After this we read of Midshipman John S. Cowan and eight men being placed on the *Barclay*; of Lieutenant Gamble serving as a member of a board of inquest on April 5, 1813, that found the death of a certain enlisted man to be accidental; of arriving at the Galapagos; and other incidents.

The *Montezuma* was captured on April 29, 1813, by a boat attack in which "Lieutenant Gamble of the Marines" was in charge of the gig.<sup>8</sup> The *Georgianna* and *Policy* were captured soon after.<sup>8</sup> Lieutenant John Downes was given command of the former prize.

On April 30, 1813, Captain Porter published a commendatory general order to the "Sailors and Marines" stating that up to that date nearly half a million dollars worth of the enemy's property had been captured, and warmly praised his officers and men.<sup>8</sup>

About the 29th of May, 1813, the British Letter-of-Marque *Atlantic* was captured and renamed the *Essex Junior*. One day later the *Greenwich* was taken. Captain Porter describes this ship as the "British letter-of-marque ship *Greenwich* of ten guns, a prime sailor, employed in the whale fishery." I "put Lieutenant Gamble of the Marines in charge of the *Greenwich*. I had much confidence in the discretion of this gentleman."<sup>8</sup>

Captain Porter now had with him the *Essex*, *Essex Junior*, *Georgianna*, *Greenwich*, *Montezuma*, and *Policy*. The capture of the *Seringapatam* on the 14th of July, 1813, was brought about mainly by the splendid efforts of Lieutenant Gamble and his *Greenwich*.<sup>13</sup>

Captain Porter was "much gratified with the bold manner in which the *Greenwich* bore down" on the enemy ship. "Closing with the *Seringapatam* (the *Essex* being a long distance to leeward) the *Greenwich* brought her to action, and after a few broadsides, the English ship struck." The *Seringapatam* made an attempt to escape, after striking her colors, but was "frustrated by the perseverance of the *Greenwich*."<sup>8-14</sup>

An officer who was standing near Captain Porter on the *Essex*, wrote an interesting account to Lieutenant Gamble after the engagement.<sup>15</sup> According to this description Captain Porter "chewed as much tobacco and kept his poor spy-

glass as constantly employed as ever I knew him to. At one time, when the *Seringapatam* tacked, Captain Porter became more anxious than ever; fearful you would tack at the same time and receive a raking shot, he exclaimed: "Now, Mr. Gamble, if you'll only stand on five minutes and then tack, I'll make you a Prince!" You stood on a while, when he again exclaimed, "Now is your time!" Just then we observed your ship in stays, which gave you the raking shot that did the enemy so much injury. So, my dear fellow, you stand a chance of being prined, knighted, or something else. The captain was much pleased, put the spyglass under his arm, walked aft, and appeared to think all safe."

Captain Porter was delighted with the capture of this vessel which he described as the "finest British ship in those seas," having been "built for a man-of-war in India, for Tip-poo Sahib."<sup>8</sup> On the date of the battle Captain Porter wrote these words to "Lieutenant John M. Gamble, commanding the prize ship *Greenwich*:" Allow "me to return to you my thanks for your handsome conduct in bringing the *Seringapatam* to action, which greatly facilitated her capture, while it prevented the possibility of her escape. Be assured, Sir, that I shall make a suitable representation of the affair to the Honorable Secretary of the Navy." On February 10, 1816, Captain Porter reported that during a great part of his cruise in the South Seas "Captain Gamble continued in command of one of my most valuable prizes, and while in that situation brought to action with an inferior force, and caused to surrender, an armed vessel of the enemy which had long been the terror of the American ships which had been engaged in commercial and other pursuits in that ocean."<sup>4</sup>

Twelve years after this victory Lieutenant Gamble memorialized Congress asking prize compensation for the capture of the *Seringapatam*. For reasons, expressed in its report, this memorial was not approved by the committee, which, in reporting, stated that it could not close its report without "expressing their sense of the gallantry, skill and enterprize, displayed by Captain Gamble in the capture of the *Seringapatam*."<sup>4</sup>

The year 1813 saw many duels in the United States Navy and Lieutenant Gamble was a principal in one of the most spectacular duels of all time. The date was August 10, 1813, and the place, James Island, one of the Galapagos. A boat rows ashore. In it is a group of young and intelligent Americans. Two with faces set and stern. Their names are First Lieutenant John M. Gamble of the Marines, and Acting-Lieutenant John S. Cowan of the Navy. The names of the others do not matter. They are all shipmates. Their ship is in a strange and remote part of the world. Their country is at war with Great Britain. They should all be the most cordial of friends. But an Ugly Custom—the Code of Duelling—has forced ashore these two comrades-at-arms, to try and kill each other. The cause of the duel makes but little difference.<sup>23</sup>

The boat grinds on the virgin sand of the island. Gamble and Cowan walked the beach. Take positions. Each fires three times. After the third exchange—Cowan is dead and Gamble lives! Lives to fight remorse and hatred of a vicious institution that has forced him to kill a friend and messmate. Captain Porter in describing this pathetic incident used these words:<sup>23</sup>

"I shall, however, throw a veil over the whole previous proceedings and merely state, that without my knowledge the parties met on shore at daylight and at the third fire Mr. Cowan fell dead. His remains were buried the same day in the spot where he fell."<sup>23</sup>

They were entombed with the honors of war on James Island on the shore of the bay renamed Cowan Bay by Captain Porter. His grave was hallowed by the tears of his countrymen, his brave associates in arms, of whom none were sadder than Lieutenant Gamble. A neat and simple structure was erected to mark the grave.<sup>23</sup>

The *Essex* and her prizes anchored in Banks' Bay on August 22, 1813. The prizes, under Porter's orders of August 21st, were directed to proceed to the Cove inside Narborough. These orders were addressed to Lieutenant John M. Gamble, "Prizemaster of the ship *Greenwich*," and provided that "the crew of the *Greenwich* will be kept complete for the protection of the other vessels; and, in the event of being attacked, you

will call on the other Prize-Masters and their men to assist on board your ship; but it is expected you only act on the defensive." Captain Porter also gave Lieutenant Gamble instructions what to do if he did not appear within six weeks. Similar orders were given to the other prize-masters. Porter sailed on August 24th, and cruised about the islands until September 8th looking for British ships.<sup>8</sup>

The "British letter-of-marque ship, *Sir Andrew Hammond*, pierced for 20 guns, commissioned for 16, but had only 12 mounted, with a complement of 36 men," was captured by the *Essex* on September 14, 1813. She was commanded by Captain William Porter. A prize crew was placed on board and Captain Porter (of the *Essex*) "placed the ship in charge of Mr. Adams, the Chaplain."<sup>8</sup> She then proceeded to Banks' Bay to join the other prizes.

Lieutenant Gamble now boarded the *Essex*, which again put to sea, but finding no enemy vessels, returned and anchored among her prizes.

The *Essex Junior* arrived on September 30, 1813, from the Mainland with news of President James Madison's re-election. The *Essex* got under way early in October and late in that month anchored at Nukuhiva (Marquesas Islands), which Captain Porter wrote that he would "hereafter call Madison's Island," in honor of President Madison.<sup>8</sup>

The American merchantship *Albatross* (that was later purchased by Kamehameha I), visited Nukuhiva on November 15, 1813, and on November 24th "sailed on her return to the Sandwich Islands."<sup>16</sup>

The American flag was hoisted over Nukuhiva on November 19, 1813, on which date Captain Porter published a proclamation formally taking possession of it for the United States. Porter called it "Madison Island," his fort "Fort Madison," and named the principal bay "Massachusetts Bay." The Stars and Stripes were displayed on the fort and a salute of 17 guns fired. Among the names signed as witnesses to the proclamation were those of Lieutenant Downes and Lieutenant Gamble.<sup>17</sup>

Having appropriated Nukuhiva to his own use, Captain Porter did not escape conflict with the native Marquesans.



Many pages of Porter's Journal<sup>8</sup> are expended in describing his troubles with the native tribes. Lieutenant Gamble participated in this fighting and received the commendations of his superior officer. Lieutenant Downes was seriously wounded in the campaign against the natives.<sup>18</sup>

Captain Porter, with the *Essex* (Porter), and *Essex Junior* (John Downes), sailed for Valparaiso on December 9, 1813. He left orders for the *New Zealander* (King) to follow as soon as she was prepared, and she sailed in the last week of December. Lieutenant Gamble was left at Nukuhiva in command of three vessels—U. S. S. *Sir Andrew Hammond*, U. S. S. *Scringapatam*, and U. S. S. *Greenwich*.<sup>19</sup> Lieutenant Gamble was described by Captain Porter as "a spirited and intelligent officer," "who, with Midshipman Feltus and twenty-one men volunteered to remain with"<sup>8</sup> the three ships until the return of the *Essex* or orders were received from Captain Porter.

Lieutenant Gamble keenly understood the problems of his future and urged Captain Porter to leave him more than four marines. "I applied for a few additional marines," wrote Lieutenant Gamble. "I urged the necessity of having them and proposed to exchange seaman man for man. The Commodore declined, saying that he could not spare another marine," and "I verily believe that the sacrifice" of many lives "and property to the amount of more than one hundred thousand dollars might have been averted, if I had had two or three more marines."<sup>20</sup>

Yes, Lieutenant Gamble knew the character of the twenty-one men turned over to him. Thirteen of the number mutinied, but not one of the thirteen was an American.<sup>8</sup>

At Nukuhiva, Lieutenant Gamble's experiences rival the product of the wildest imagination. Troubles beset him from within and without. The *Essex* had not got clear of the Marquesas before the natives showed a hostile disposition toward Lieutenant Gamble's force. Old Chief Gattenewa was friendly disposed, but his influence was insufficient to restrain the natives. In a few days they became so active that Lieutenant Gamble found it absolutely necessary, not only for the security of the ships and property on shore, but for the personal



safety of his men, to land a party and regain by force of arms, the many things that the Marquesans had taken from the encampment in the most daring manner. This was accomplished without firing a single musket and from that time the Americans lived in the most perfect amity with the natives, until May 7, 1814. Before the lamentable events of that day a few other depressing occurrences preceded them. Private John Wetter, of the Marines, was drowned in the surf on February 28, 1814. Four men later deserted.<sup>20</sup>

From April 12 to May 1, 1814, Lieutenant Gamble and his men were engaged in rigging the *Seringapatam* and *Sir Andrew Hammond*. About this time hope was given up of the *Essex* returning,<sup>20</sup> and Lieutenant Gamble gave thought to obeying his orders and sailing for Valparaiso. Subsequent events made that course impossible.

On May 7, 1814, a mutiny occurred on the *Seringapatam*, Lieutenant Gamble was wounded, and the mutineers sailed out of the bay in the ship.<sup>20</sup> Listen to Captain Porter's description of this mutiny and the courage of Lieutenant Gamble, who was on board the *Seringapatam* at the time.

"He was seized with great violence, by six or seven of the mutineers, and after a struggle, thrown back upon the deck. His hands were immediately tied behind him, and his legs crossed and bound so tight as to cause him pain." Lieutenant "Gamble inquired what they meant by treating him in this manner; and he was answered by Martin Stanley, who raised a maul over his head, that if he spoke another word, he would beat his brains out. Not intimidated, however, by this ferocious threat, Lieutenant Gamble repeated the question; and in particular, demanded the reason of their mutinous conduct. In reply it was stated, that they had been detained as prisoners long enough, 'in the damned place,' and were now determined to regain their liberty. As soon as the three officers (Lieutenant Gamble, Midshipmen Feltus and Clapp) were properly secured in the 'run' (space under cabin deck), as before stated, the mutineers gave three cheers, and **HOISTED THE ENGLISH FLAG.**"<sup>28</sup>

About 8 p. m. "Ronsford, one of the men who guarded Lieutenant Gamble, fired off one of the pistols, the ball passing nearly in a horizontal direction just below the ankle of the latter (Gamble), through his left heel." Next, several muskets were pointed at him, through the skylight, and nothing but the expostulations of the guard prevented their contents from being lodged in him."<sup>8</sup>

"At 9 p. m., the mainsail was backed, and the officers were informed that a boat was in readiness to receive them. Lieutenant Gamble expostulated with them upon the wanton barbarity of turning him into an open boat, without arms and ammunition to defend himself against the natives; and after a few moments consultation, they agreed to furnish him with two muskets, and a keg of cartridges." Over three miles to the beach in a choppy sea; the boat half full of water and leaking badly; Gamble steered the boat while Midshipmen Feltus and Clapp, and William Worth and Sansbury pulled the oars and bailed out the water. The *Greenwich* was reached at last.<sup>8</sup>

Two days later, when making preparations to depart for Valparaiso, the Americans were attacked by the natives and Midshipman Feltus and three men were killed and another dangerously wounded.<sup>20</sup> Having sent his whole force ashore to cope with the situation, Lieutenant Gamble was alone on the *Greenwich*. Picture that scene. The struggle on the beach. "Lieutenant Gamble on the *Greenwich* enduring the severe pain from his wound and laboring under a violent fever—while two boats, crowded with savages, were approaching him and a great number besides were endeavoring to launch a war canoe for the same purpose." Notwithstanding his wound and the fever Lieutenant Gamble "hobbled from one gun to another, firing them off as fast as he could." Gamble's gunfire not only drove back the canoes but cleared the beach.<sup>8</sup>

Further delay was fatal and the *Sir Andrew Hammond* was fitted out for sea. At sunset, May 9, 1814, the *Greenwich* was set on fire by Lieutenant Gamble's order and the *Sir Andrew Hammond* sailed. Concluding that it was impracticable to

reach the continent Lieutenant Gamble steered for the Hawaiian Islands.<sup>21</sup>

On board the *Sir Andrew Hammond* were First Lieutenant John M. Gamble, of the Marines, commanding; Midshipman Clapp, in good health; Private Benjamin Bishpham, in good health; Private Peter Coddington, wounded; Seaman William Worth, leg fractured; Ordinary Seaman Richard Sansbury, down with rheumatism; Ordinary Seaman Joseph Burnham, an old man just cured of scurvy; and Private John Pettinger, a cripple; "so that only two persons on board were fit for duty, and only one acquainted with the management of a ship." Lieutenant Gamble describes his get-away as follows:

"After bending the jib and spanker, we cut our moorings, and fortunately had a light breeze that carried the ship clear of the bay, with six cartridges remaining out of the only barrel left us by the mutineers. After getting out of the bay, we found our situation most distressing. In attempting to run the boat up, it broke in two parts, and we were compelled to cut away from the bows the only anchor, not being able to cat it. We mustered altogether eight souls, out of which there was one cripple, one dangerously wounded, one sick, one just recovering from the scurvy, and myself confined to the bed with high fever, produced by my wound. In that state, destitute of charts, and almost of every means of navigating the ship, I reached the Sandwich Islands, after a passage of seventeen days, and suffering much from fatigue and hardships."<sup>20</sup>

Propaganda has been broadcasted that Kamehameha I and his subjects were not friendly to the Americans during the War of 1812. Suffice to say that present-day Hawaiians can feel justly proud of the pro-American attitude of their ancestors during that eventful period.

Somewhere on the Island of Oahu there are Hawaiians who are eligible to join the patriotic societies of the United States organized by the descendants of those who served in the War of 1812. They are the Hawaiians whose ancestors were those subjects of King Kamehameha the First, who served as volunteer seamen and marines on board the United States ship *Sir Andrew Hammond* in Hawaiian waters in 1814.<sup>22</sup>

The U. S. S. *Sir Andrew Hammond* "reached the Island of Owyhee (Hawaii) on the 23d of May, 1814. The Hawaiians "informed Lieutenant Gamble that Tamehameha (Kamehameha I), the King, resided at Taeigh Bay; and fifteen of them expressing a wish to remain on board the ship that night, he ordered them to sleep on the birthdeck, while the crew remained on the quarterdeck, with pikes by their sides—the only weapons on board the ship."<sup>8</sup>

Coasted. Went to northern part of island. Hove-to on May 28th. In the breakers. Passed between several of the islands "and in the afternoon of the 31st came-to off Whyateete (Waikiki) Bay on the southwest side of the Island of Waahoo (Oahu)."<sup>8</sup>

"An American, by the name of Harbottle, came off in a canoe, and gave a very flattering account of the state of things on shore. He kindly undertook to pilot the ship into the bay, and at Lieutenant Gamble's request despatched the canoe ashore, with a note for Captain Nathaniel Winship, a native of America, describing the state of the vessel, and earnestly requesting his assistance to bring her into the bay.<sup>8</sup> This was May 31, 1814.

"Captain Winship was quite comfortably situated at Whyateete (Waikiki) Bay. He had already resided on the island upwards of two years, and had so far succeeded in introducing the arts of civilized life into this remote quarter of the globe, as to make a sufficient quantity of butter and cheese for his own use. A melon appeared every day of the year upon his table, and his garden produced all kinds of vegetables in abundance."<sup>8</sup>

"By the advice of Captain Winship, Lieutenant Gamble displayed the American Flag, in order to show the people on shore to what nation he belonged."<sup>8</sup> A number of American seamen were shipped on the *Hammond*.<sup>8</sup>

Lieutenant Gamble "greatly regretted not finding at this island, Captain William Davis and Jonathan Winship, with their ships," as he had expected them to assist him in refitting the U. S. S. *Sir Andrew Hammond*.<sup>8</sup>

The Hawaiians proved cordial and helpful. They voluntarily gave their assistance in working the *Sir Andrew Ham-*

mond "into the bay." That evening Lieutenant Gamble dined with Captain Winship in Honolulu and learned all the news, hearing again that "Tamaahmaah resided at Owyhee (Hawaii)" and that "all naval stores were generally sold under his eye."

"The two Chiefs, or Head-Men, of the Island" (of Oahu), Maha and Mytie, visited the U. S. S. *Sir Andrew Hammond*,<sup>8</sup> according to custom. It is quite possible that they were saluted and received with other honors.

"At daylight on the 3d of June (1814), a signal gun was fired from the" U. S. S. *Sir Andrew Hammond*, "and a number of canoes immediately put off to tow her into the inner harbor (of Honolulu) for the purpose of being anchored in a safer place. At 8 o'clock, she was, with some difficulty, brought through the narrow channel of the bay, and moored in perfect security, within a short distance of the shore. For this service, the natives received each a piece of new iron hoop, and left the ship, well satisfied with their reward."<sup>8</sup>

While ashore Lieutenant Gamble and Midshipman Clapp met several Americans. Among them were Captain Nathaniel Winship, Navarrow, Butler and Marshall. Marshall had been mate of the *Lark* (Holmes), of New York, that had been wrecked a month or so before. Midshipman Clapp purchased a pair of pistols from Navarrow. Lieutenant Gamble bought a canoe from Haamah Mytie for ten dollars cash, for "Haamah Mytie would trade for nothing but cash." "At sunset on the 4th (June, 1814), the natives reported that they had seen a strange sail off Diamond Hill."<sup>8</sup>

With the aid of the kindly disposed and willing Hawaiians and his American friends Lieutenant Gamble gradually got the U. S. S. *Sir Andrew Hammond* in fair shape. "The crew were now of sufficient strength to manage the ship in the worst of weather, nine men (probably Hawaiians) having entered for an indefinite period, and received each an advance, not exceeding fifteen dollars, in new iron hoops."<sup>8</sup>

The United States Marine Corps reckons those nine Hawaiians among their "unknown" but faithful sons, and they will go down in history to the distant ages as such.

"Having received a box of tea from a Spanish gentleman (Don Francisco de Paula Marin), who had resided on the Islands upwards of twenty years, together with several goats, swine, and vegetables, from different persons near the bay, Lieutenant Gamble weighed anchor on the 11th of June (1814) and left Waohoo (Oahu)."

"Maha and about forty of his people took passage in the ship (*Sir Andrew Hammond*), with five tons of paie (poi), a food extracted from the taro root, and a quantity of dried fish, which they were taking to Tamaahmaah (Kamehameha I), the King. They had been prevented, for some time, by the roughness of the sea, from carrying this tribute in their canoes; and therefore very eagerly embraced the opportunity which the *Sir Andrew Hammond* afforded."<sup>8</sup>

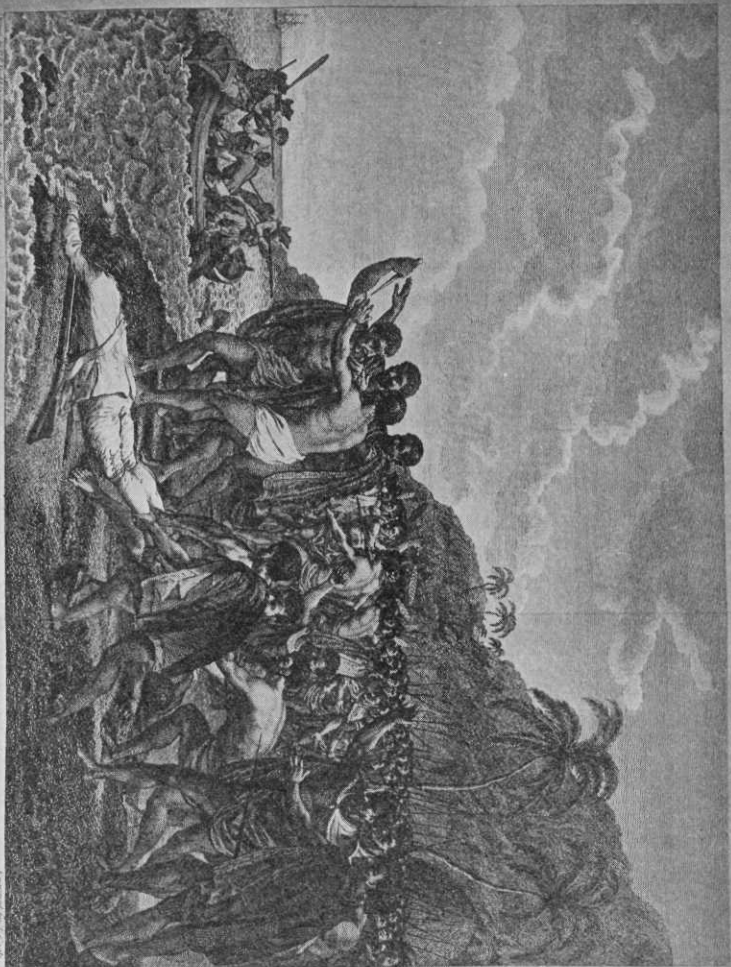
"At daylight on the 13th, a strange sail was discovered, close in with Owyhee (Hawaii), and directly ahead." Lieutenant Gamble believed her to be the "American ship *Albatross*, daily expected at Waohoo (Oahu)." On second thought he had suspicions that the stranger might be the *Seringapatam*. The *Sir Andrew Hammond* was destitute of spy-glasses and trumpets so her vision and communication were handicapped. The strange ship hoisted American colors. This and other things convinced Lieutenant Gamble that an enemy was approaching.<sup>8</sup>

"Shortly after he received a shot, and was immediately taken possession of by the British national ship *Cherub* (Captain Tucker), one of the captors of the *Essex*." A word concerning the movements of the frigate *Essex* (Porter) is demanded here. The *Essex* and *Essex Junior*, quitted Nukuhiva in December, 1813, and arrived at Valparaiso, Chile, in January, 1814. On March 28, 1814, the *Cherub* and *Phoebe* captured the *Essex* after a bloody battle.<sup>8</sup>

Captain Gamble wrote that he was "unfortunately captured by the English ship *Cherub*, remained a prisoner on board of her seven months, during which time my men were treated in a most shameful manner."<sup>20</sup>

The log of H. M. S. *Cherub* describes the capture of the U. S. S. *Sir Andrew Hammond* as follows: "Sunday, June 12th, 1814, a. m. Light airs and variable. Trimmed sails as neces-

CAPTAIN COOK'S VOYAGE, OCTHVO EDITION



THE DEATH OF CAPTAIN JAMES COOK, F.R.S. as OBTAINED in 1780.

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# THE DEATH OF CAPTAIN JAMES COOK

From an engraving by T. Cook, after a drawing by Dodd and others who were on the spot, in the collection of STEPHEN W. PHILLIPS of Salem, Massachusetts.







sary. 4 a. m. saw a strange sail, made sail in chace, 7:30 the Chace hoisted American colours and fired a gun to leeward—we hoisted an American Ensign and Pendant with a white Flag at the Fore Topgallant Head, with Free Trade and Sailors Rights printed in it—at 9 fired a shot at the Chace and hoisted English Colours at which she struck her Colours, down Boat and boarded ditto.—she proved to be the *Sir Andrew Hammond*, an English Whaler, Prize to the American frigate *Essex*—sent a Lieut. a Midshipman and 10 Men on board her and received 2 Officers and 18 Seamen (prisoners) from her.”

It will be noted that Captain Porter wrote that the *Sir Andrew Hammond* was captured on June 13, 1814, while the *Cherub's* log gives the date as of June 12, 1814. Mr. W. G. Perrin (the Admiralty Historian), in a letter dated in London, “The Library, Admiralty, S. W. 1, 8th January, 1926,” referred to this difference by writing: “I enclose a copy of the entry in the *Cherub's* log which relates to the capture of the *Sir Andrew Hammond*. You will notice that Major McClellan is a day out in his reckoning.” Let us now resume our narrative.

“In the afternoon of the 15th (June), the *Cherub* and her prize came to an anchor in Ranheina (Lahaina) Bay, at the Island of Mowee (Maui) for the purpose of procuring wood and water.” The American prisoners did not receive the best of treatment from their captors.<sup>s</sup>

“The unfortunate natives, too, who had taken passage in the *Sir Andrew Hammond* (with the exception of Maha and four or five others), were compelled to jump overboard; and must certainly have perished, had they not been picked up by some of the fishermen; as the ships were at that time at least six miles from the land.”

Three classes of property on board the *Sir Andrew Hammond* belonged to the Hawaiians, and Captain Gamble did everything in his power to safeguard it for them. This property consisted of the five tons of poi, a large quantity of dried fish, and the “new iron hoops” which Captain Gamble had paid Kamehameha's agent at Honolulu for supplies, consisting of swine and vegetables. These food-supplies were paid

for by Captain Gamble to "Tamaahmaah's agent" on Oahu. That agent "requested Captain Gamble to take them with him to Tamaahmaah, as the swine and vegetables all belonged to him. Accordingly, when the ships arrived at Mowee (Maui), which was in the vicinity of Tamaahmaah's residence, Captain Gamble explained these facts to Captain Tucker (of the *Cherub*), and was very desirous of having the hoops landed."<sup>8</sup>

Captain Tucker refused, "averring that everything in the *Sir Andrew Hammond* must go home, as a prize of war; and it followed, of course, that not only was Tamaahmaah (Kamehameha I) wrongfully deprived of these iron hoops, but the poor natives who had taken passage in her, were deprived of their five tons of paie (poi) and dried fish."<sup>8</sup>

The *Cherub* and *Sir Andrew Hammond* sailed for Atooi (Kauai) which they sighted on June 18, 1814. The *Cherub* captured the American merchantman *Charon* (Whittemore) the same day. Another American merchantship commanded by Captain Thomas, was stopped early the following day, but Captain Tucker allowed her to proceed. The *Cherub*, *Sir Andrew Hammond* and *Charon* then anchored "off Whymea Bay," Kauai.<sup>8</sup>

King Kaumualii of Kauai, at this time, showed a loyalty to principle and a friendly spirit toward Americans that should never be overlooked. On his island was property owned by Captain Whittemore and Jonathan Winship to the value of many thousands of dollars. Captain Tucker "employed every stratagem to gain possession of it, without effect. He at first began to wheedle" Kaumualii, "using all his efforts to entice him on board the *Cherub*." But Kaumualii could be neither bought nor persuaded to betray the Americans.

On June 22, 1814, Captain Tucker despatched the *Sir Andrew Hammond* and the *Charon* to Rio Janeiro via Valparaiso. Midshipman Clapp went on board the *Charon* while Captain Gamble was retained on the *Cherub*.<sup>8</sup>

The *Cherub* arrived off Waikiki Bay, Oahu, on June 28, 1814, but Captain Tucker did not linger there long and did not enter the harbor of Honolulu. He sensed his unpopularity with the chiefs, particularly Maha. So the *Cherub* proceeded to Hawaii.<sup>8</sup>

July 4, 1814, "being the Anniversary of the Declaration of our Independence, the gentlemen of the wardroom (of the *Cherub*), with a liberality of feeling which does them credit, ordered a suitable dinner, with an extra bottle of wine; and Captain Whittemore and Captain Gamble had the happiness to commemorate that glorious event, notwithstanding their confinement as prisoners of war, on board an enemy's ship.<sup>8</sup>

Arriving at Hawaii on July 6, 1814, Captain Tucker invited Kamehameha I and his "Prime Minister" to dinner on board the *Cherub*. Captain "Gamble was honored with a seat at the table near these great personages." The next day Captain Gamble accompanied Captain Tucker ashore "and visited the King's House."<sup>8</sup> Captain Gamble met John Young at this time. No biography of John Young would be complete without including in its pages the information on page 215 of Volume II of Captain David Porter's Journal. Captain Gamble also met Captain Jennings of the *Forrester* that was later purchased by Kamehameha I, renamed the *Kaahumanu*, and Captain Alexander Adams assigned to command her.

Lahaina was visited on July 10, 1814, and Captain Gamble went ashore there the following day. The *Cherub* got under way for Oahu on July 12, 1814, where she came to off Whya-teetee (Waikiki) Bay. William Davis acted as her pilot but Captain Tucker would not allow his vessel to enter Honolulu harbor. He permitted his medical officer to treat Captain Winship, but that American was compelled to board the *Cherub* for the favor.<sup>8</sup>

Kauai was the next objective and on July 15, 1814, the *Cherub* hove-to off Whymea Bay and "displayed American flag." Captain Tucker again made efforts to break down King Kaumualii's determination to protect Captains Whittemore and Winship's property. The *Cherub* was "disguised with a false poop and other stratagems in order to decoy the King, or Captain Winship, of the *O'Cain*, on board." But Captain Tucker again failed. Kaumualii continued true to his friends.<sup>8</sup>

About July 15, 1814, the *Cherub* sailed for Valparaiso where she arrived about September 23, 1814. Here Captain Gamble

had the melancholy joy of seeing the *Sir Andrew Hammond* for the last time.<sup>8</sup>

According to the British Admiralty Historian the log of the *Cherub* shows that the *Sir Andrew Hammond* parted company with the *Cherub* at Waimea Bay, Kauai Island, on the 21st of June, 1814 (one day earlier than as stated by Captain Porter); proceeded to Valparaiso where she was rejoined by the *Cherub* on September 22d (one day earlier than as stated by Captain Porter), and escorted to Home (English) waters. "She is last mentioned in the log as parting company on May 4th, 1815, off the Sicily Islands, but her destination is not indicated."

The *Cherub* arrived in Rio Janeiro about nine months after Captain Gamble was captured. His movements thereafter are best described by him: "We were then put on shore at Rio Janeiro, without the possibility of getting away until after hearing of the peace. I then, by the advice of the physician who attended me, embarked on board a Swedish ship bound to Havre de Grace (there being no other means of my getting away at the time), leaving behind Acting Midshipman Clapp and five men, having lost one, soon after my arrival in that place, with the smallpox. On the 1st instant (August, 1815), in Lat. 47° N., Long. 18° W., we fell in with the American ship *Oliver Ellsworth*, from Havre, bound to this port (New York). I took a passage on board of her, and arrived here (New York) two days since (on August 28, 1815), after being upwards of a hundred days at sea. I am at present (August 30, 1815), unable to travel, and shall therefore await either your (Captain Porter's) orders or the Commandant of the Marine Corps, at this place."<sup>20</sup>

Captain Gamble suffered from the hardships of the trying times just described until his death at the age of 46 in 1836. The Peace Establishment Act of March 3, 1817, placed him number seven in the list of Captains of the Marine Corps. The only officer senior to captains on that date was Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant Franklin Wharton. Thus Captain Gamble was number eight in seniority in the whole corps.

On April 30, 1817, Brevet Major Gamble was ordered to command the Marine Barracks at Philadelphia. This was the

"oldest station" of the Marine Corps. When the modern Marine Corps was created by Congress and President John Adams on July 11, 1798, Philadelphia was the headquarters of the corps commanded by Major-Commandant William Ward Burrows. When headquarters was moved to Washington in 1800, Captain Franklin Wharton was left in command. He was succeeded by Captain Anthony Gale, who in turn was followed by Brevet-Major John M. Gamble, who thus was the fourth commanding officer at Philadelphia.

Of the many incidents participated in by Major Gamble while commanding at Philadelphia the reception of Lafayette was probably the most historic. On October 2, 1824, "General Lafayette was escorted to the navy yard," then "on the Delaware River, at the foot of Federal Street," attended by the Governor and citizens of the first distinction escorted by the United States Marines (under Major Gamble), a regiment of militia," etc.<sup>2</sup>

At the navy yard "the Nation's guest was received" under a salute which was returned by "the ship *John Adams*." The "General was received by Commodore Barron and entertained at the quarters of Major Gamble, whose arrangements were highly spoken of."<sup>24</sup>

On this same evening of October 2, 1824, a dinner was tendered Lafayette by the Grand Lodge of Freemasons in Philadelphia. "The brethren sat down at six o'clock in the afternoon; feelings of hilarity, mirth and Masonic brotherhood prevailed at the festive board. After the removal of the cloth a number of excellent toasts were given, followed by appropriate music from the Marine Band attached to the navy yard, for whose services the fraternity were indebted to the politeness of Brother J. M. Gamble, commanding the Marine Corps on this station."<sup>2</sup>

Major Gamble became so intimate with Lafayette on this occasion that a plan was conceived whereby Major Gamble would command the Marine Guard of the U. S. S. *Brandywine* on which Lafayette sailed homewardbound from Washington City in September, 1825. But although the major volunteered<sup>4</sup> for such duty, headquarters reluctantly refused to issue orders as Major Gamble carried too much rank for the duty.

At this period there were six Marine Corps posts—Washington City (headquarters), Norfolk, Philadelphia, New York, Boston, and Portsmouth, N. H. In the early summer of 1825 Major Gamble received orders detaching him from Philadelphia and directing him to proceed to Portsmouth, N. H. Major Gamble had no desire to leave Philadelphia but another officer, possessing unusual influence, wanted to command the Philadelphia post. Philadelphia's appreciation of Major Gamble was exhibited in numerous ways. In the last week of May, 1825, "a handsome and highly complimentary dinner" was given "by the citizens of Philadelphia to Major John M. Gamble, of the Marine Corps, on the occasion of his removal from that city" to Portsmouth, N. H.<sup>25</sup>

"The Mayor of the City presided, supported by General Thomas Cadwallader and Nicholas Biddle, Esq., as Vice-Presidents. Several naval and marine officers were present." Rarely had there been "a more decided public testimony of respect than on this occasion" to "which additional effect was given by a short but gratifying speech, with which the Mayor prefaced the toast in honor of the guest."<sup>25</sup>

At Portsmouth Major Gamble "was equally fortunate in conciliating the goodwill of the respectable citizens of that place for the few years he resided there."<sup>23</sup>

"From Portsmouth he was ordered to the command of the marine garrison" at New York, "which he retained to the day of his death, enjoying the rational pleasures of life among a large circle of intimate friends, until physical infirmities deprived him of their gratification."<sup>23</sup>

Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel John M. Gamble died at Brooklyn September 11, 1836, "the last of four brothers" who died "in the service."<sup>21</sup> In "announcing the death of this truly estimable gentleman and officer, the New York Gazette" was quoted by the Daily National Intelligencer of Washington City as saying that Lieutenant-Colonel Gamble "made choice of the military profession early in life, and from the day in which he first entered the service to the present time, he has been in active employment. He served under the gallant Porter nearly the whole of the last war, and distinguished himself on various occasions." To "his bereaved family his loss is irreparable,

but he has left them an unclouded name, and for consolation in their affliction they can only look to Him who always 'tempers the wind to the shorn lamb.' ”<sup>3</sup>

The Army and Navy Chronicle quoted the New York American, in part, as telling Lieutenant-Colonel Gamble's friends that "the heavy hand of sickness was laid upon him about a year" before his death. He "lingered languishingly on, until at length, amid the tears of his friends" and family "and the grateful benedictions of his country, death came to close the scene. Light be the earth above him."<sup>1</sup>

"The mortal remains of Lieutenant-Colonel John M. Gamble, late of the Marine Corps," were "committed to the grave, with the honors of war, performed in the absence of the marine force in the Creek Country,<sup>26</sup> by a detachment from the 27th Regiment of the New York State Artillery and two uniform companies of Brooklyn; and amid the regrets of attached friends and gallant comrades."<sup>1</sup>

The New York Commercial Advertiser<sup>28</sup> published the following poem:

#### ON THE DEATH OF COLONEL GAMBLE

Roll, roll muffled drum! for a brave man is gone!

His warfare is ended—his battle is won;

His campaign is over—his service is closed,

And he's gone where the brave have for ages reposed.

Sound, sound piercing fife! let thy notes strike the ear!

For he who once heard thee now lies on his bier;

No more shall the reveille wake him at morn,

Nor the tattoo proclaim another day gone.

Move, move silent throng! soldier low-trail your gun!

He wants not its service—his fighting is done;

But over his grave let its voice speak to earth—

Receive him, receive him, thou source of his birth!

D. S. C.



## NOTES

- 1 New York American quoted in Army and Navy Chronicle, Sept. 22, 1836.
- 2 Report of Grand Lodge of Freemasons of Penn., printed in 1916.
- 3 New York Gazette quoted in the Daily National Intelligencer of Washington City, Sept. 15, 1836.
- 4 Marine Corps Archives.
- 5 Paradise of the Pacific (Hawaii), February, 1926, 11.
- 6 Honolulu Advertiser, July 28, 1926.
- 7 Daily National Intelligencer of Washington City, November 18, 1848.
- 8 Porter's Journal (2d edition); *see also* Paradise of the Pacific (Hawaii), December, 1925; February, 1926, 11; and January, 1927, 18; Honolulu Advertiser, October 27, 1925; March 19, 31, 1926; July 28, 1926; August 4, 1926; November 10, 1926; Honolulu Star-Bulletin, October 27, 1926; Pearl Harbor Weekly, December 24, 1926; Marine Corps Leatherneck, March 25, 1926.
- 9 Daily National Intelligencer of Washington City, September 12, 15, 1812; Porter's Report, August 17, 1812; Naval Temple, 56-59.
- 10 Cooper, History, Navy, II, 217, 233-236; Hawes, Whaling, 113-115; Porter's Journal.
- 11 Cooper, History, Navy, II, 234-235.
- 12 Roosevelt, Naval War of 1812, 164; Hildreth, History, U. S., VI, 430-431; Porter's Memoir, 124-126; Hawes, Whaling, 116; Cooper, History, Navy, II, 234-245; Porter's Journal, I, 110.
- 13 Maclay, History, Navy, I, 556.
- 14 Cooper, History, Navy, II, 249-250.
- 15 Dr. Alexander M. Montgomery on July 15, 1813.
- 16 Porter's Journal; Bancroft, North-West Coast.
- 17 Niles Weekly Register, VI, 350; Porter's Memoir, 193-194; Porter's Journal, II, 80-81; Honolulu Advertiser, August 4, 1926; "Although Captain Ingraham of the HOPE had discovered the Island, the United States did not see fit to confirm Captain Porter's occupation; and the Marquesas fell to France." (Morison, Maritime History of Massachusetts, 203); *see also* Honolulu Advertiser, November 6, 1925, quoting National Geographic Society Bulletin.
- 18 For an interesting account of this campaign see: The Naval History of the United States (Willis J. Abbot), 415-424; Porter's Journal; Typee, by Herman Melville, 9, 13, 28-29.
- 19 Naval Temple, 122; Spears, History of Our Navy, III, 23; Porter's Journal; Abbot, Naval History, U. S., 424.
- 20 Report of Gamble, August 30, 1815, published in Niles Weekly Register, IX, 293, and in Analectic Magazine and Naval Chronicle, VII, 18; Maclay, History, Navy, I, 571, 574-575; Porters Journal. On November 18, 1828, Gamble wrote to Colonel Archibald Henderson: "I might mention one instance that came within my own knowledge of the situation in which Marines were held by a distinguished Naval Officer. After I had received orders from Commodore Porter in September, 1813, to remain at the Marquesas Islands in charge of four valuable ships and property to a very considerable amount, I applied for a few additional Marines, four only having been sent aboard the *Greenwich*, a ship I had commanded several months. I urged the necessity of having them and proposed to exchange seamen man for man. The Commodore declined, saying that he could not spare another Marine. A few days previously a report had been circulated on board the *Essex Junior*, that the crew of the Frigate (*Essex*) would not weigh



her anchors, but if compelled to do so, they would display their own flag, in less than three days after the departure of the ship from Madison's Island. Although this mutinous plan and diabolical plan may have possibly been confined to a solitary individual on board the Frigate, who endeavored to excite the *Essex* crew to mutiny, yet the Marines were viewed as of too much importance to the lives of the Officers and the safety of the ship to be parted with even under the most trying circumstances. My crew subsequently mutinied, and carried off the finest ship captured in the South Seas, after severely wounding me. The consequences of this mutiny were—the loss of four lives and all the property committed to my charge, besides several persons dangerously wounded. An account of these disasters and sufferings which followed, may be seen by a reference to the files of the Navy Department. I verily believe that the sacrifice of these lives, one a most promising young officer, and property to the amount of more than one hundred thousand dollars, might have been averted, if I had had two or three more Marines; but unfortunately instead of this, I was a few weeks before the mutiny took place, deprived of one of the most faithful of the only four Commodore Porter would consent to leave with me—he was drowned in the surf by the upsetting of a boat.”

- 21 Porter's Journal; Letter of Gamble to Porter, August 30, 1815, in Niles Weekly Register, IX, 293; Naval Temple, 204-213.
- 22 Paradise of the Pacific (Hawaii), February, 1926, 11; The cover of the Marine Corps Leatherneck, August, 1926, illustrates the U. S. S. *Sir Andrew Hammond*. That paper states that “there have been Hawaiian Marines, too, and some native Sandwich Islanders served in that capacity on board the *Sir Andrew Hammond*, the first American war vessel to arrive in Hawaiian waters.” Also that “the Marines on the Cover are the first American Marines that ever went sight-seeing in Honolulu” and “were the first United States Marines to view the historic Pali, to see Pearl Harbor, and to swim at Waikiki.”
- 23 Niles Weekly Register, VII, 23, Supplement; Porter's Memoir, 160-162; Porter's Journal, I, 223; Abbot, Naval History, U. S.
- 24 Daily National Intelligencer, Washington City, October 6, 1824.
- 25 Daily National Intelligencer, Washington City, May 30, 1825.
- 26 Practically every Marine was in the southern states fighting Seminoles and other Indians.
- 27 For references to the *Essex* and her prizes in the Pacific see Roosevelt, Naval War of 1812; Cooper, History, Navy; Maclay, History, Navy; Abbot, Naval History, U. S.; Spears, History of Our Navy, Headley, Second War with England, II, 48-49; Porter's Journal; Porter's Memoir; Lossing American, Amer. Rev., War of 1812, 159; Hill, Twenty-six Historic Ships; Naval Temple; Loyall Farragut, Life and Letters of David G. Farragut; Niles Register, IX, 29, 293, VII, 43, VI, 350, 426, V, 269; North American Review, I, 247-259; Palmer, Hist. Reg., U. S., IV, 217; American States Papers, II, 95, and many others.
- 28 New York Commercial Advertiser quoted in Army and Navy Chronicle, III, No. 12, (Whole No. 90), September 22, 1836.

## The Paehumu of Heiaus Non-Sacred

Clearing an erroneous account as to the cause of Captain Cook's death.

By THOMAS G. THRUM

In view of the interest in the prospective anniversary of the discovery of these islands by Captain Cook and his unfortunate death at Ke-ala-ke-kua Bay, it is deemed an appropriate time to clear some of the errors that certain writers made in the accounts given of the lamentable event, and place on the records of this Society the grounds and authority of this refutation.

Ledyard, in the account which he has given, states, that "the principal occurrence that interrupted friendly intercourse was the seizure of the images of the heiau (temple) by Captain Cook," for firewood.

Dibble, quoting this passage, says: "After making repeated inquiries I cannot find that the people attached much importance to that circumstance, though the fact is substantiated."<sup>1</sup>

Notwithstanding this refutation, it is not creditable to Jarves' historical researching (written about the same time), that he accepts and enlarges upon Ledyard's statement,<sup>2</sup> a writer who, in his short stay, was hardly in a position to know the different estimate in which Hawaiians held their graven images, nor, probably the object or purpose of the pae-hu-mu images that adorned the heiau enclosures. Jarves, long resident, had the same opportunity as had Dibble, to learn the error in Ledyard's account and correct it, instead of repeating it.

Various writers, from that day to this, comparatively, have played "copy cat" with the subject, without a proper knowledge of the Hawaiian estimate of the pae-humu images or their purpose. In the absence of persons, now living, with knowledge of the ancient priesthood and their temple provi-

<sup>1</sup> Dibble, reprint edition, 1909, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Jarves, 2nd edition, 1844, pp. 118-119.

sions, it is fortunate the native historian, S. M. Kama-kau, in his history of Ka-meha-meha I, gives a clear account<sup>3</sup> of the purposes of the paehumu and non-sacredness of its images. Translated it is as follows:

"The reconstruction of heiaus was one of the principal duties of Kamehameha. He caused the renovation of Kei-ki-pui-pui, at Kai-lua, which was a great work with the erection of adorning images outside of the paehumu; wooden images they were (of ohia) carved with grinning mouth and elongated head topped as with a helmet. The thighs and legs were rounded, and below the feet was the long length of timber to secure its erection in the ground. Some forty were the number of images of some heiaus, and 400 of certain large ones.

"These were erected outwardly of the paehumu all around the heiau, and along the roadway leading to the sacred drum a row of images were erected. The one standing by the sacred drum was Ku-ka-lepe-onio-nio. This class of carved images were not images to be worshipped. No man, or even priest, indeed, bent the knee to them in worship.

"Three varieties of ohia, the ha-mau (silence), pa-ne (answer), and ha (breath), and the lama (torch), were the woods used for carving these images. They were made for adornment; to be possessed of a spirit; to make the house of the god attractive when he should descend from heaven. See in the history of Umi a Liloa: When Umi sacrificed at the heiau of Moa-ula, at Wai-pio, in offering up the burnt sacrifice, the god Ku descended from heaven in the center of a black, shiny cloud, and the tongue, trembling beneath the altar, consumed and licked up the burnt offerings.

"These wooden images set up outside of the heiau were not restricted (kapu) from use as oven fuel. On some occasions they were burned as firewood by the people holding the front images. See also in the history of Ka-we-lo at his embarking for war on Kauai, at his consecrating the heiau of Pu-ehu, at Wai-a-nae. At the close of the sacrificial service he commanded that the wood of the paehumu, the fence wood, and also the images of the heiau be taken for firewood, in provision for his war on Kauai."

<sup>3</sup> Kuokoa, August 24, 1867.

## The Place of Captain Cook's Death

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(a)

Honolulu, T. H., Jan. 18, 1927.

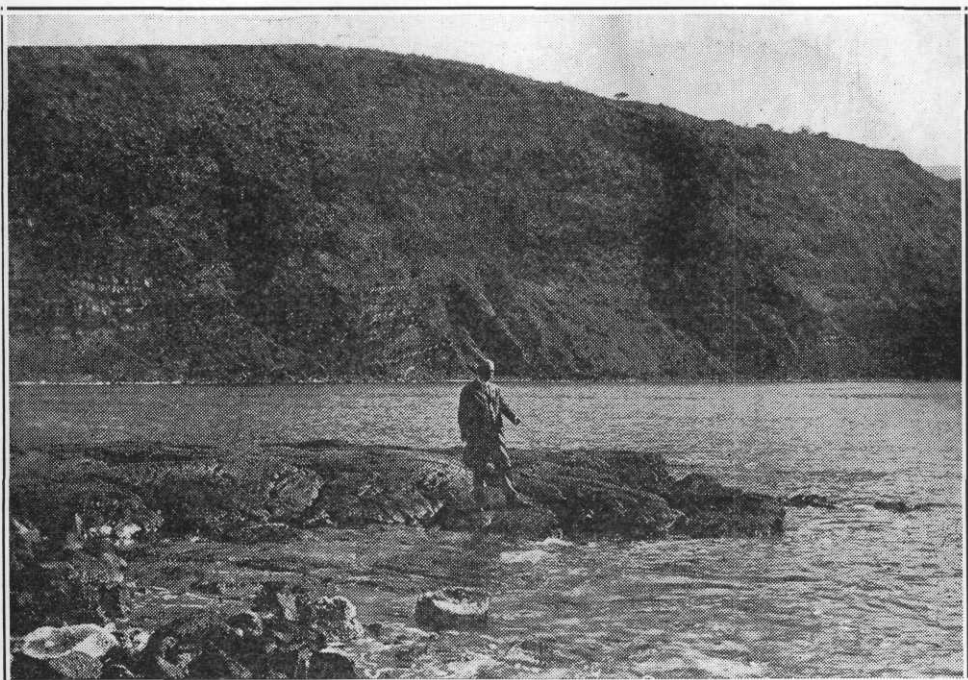
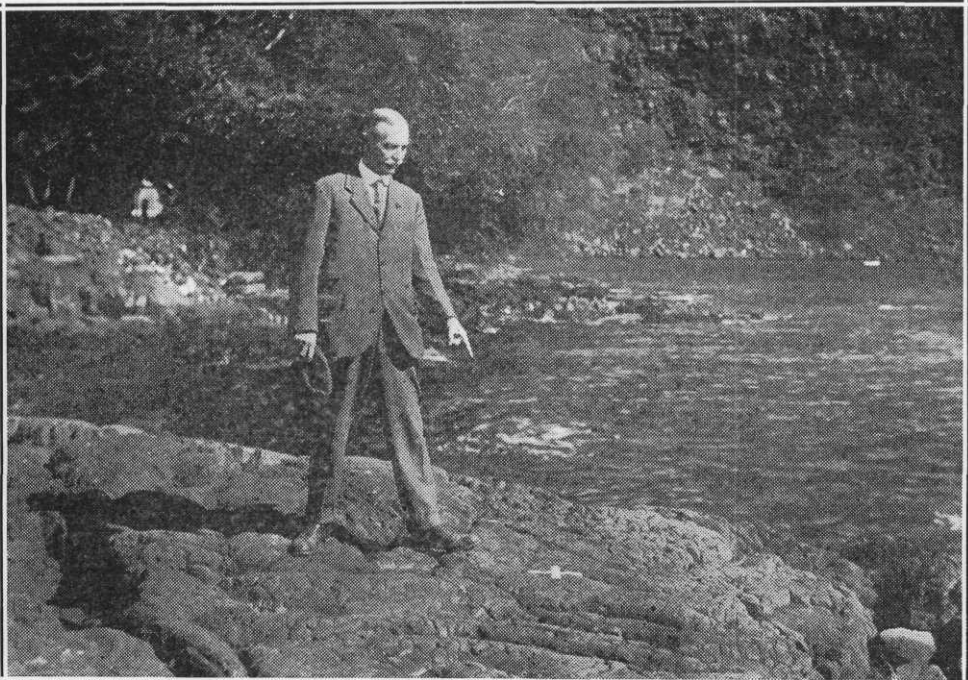
RT. REV. BISHOP H. B. RESTARICK,  
President, Hawaiian Historical Society,  
Honolulu, T. H.

DEAR SIR:—

You have been good enough to ask me to contribute a short paper about the early haunts of Capt. James Cook in Yorkshire and London where I have visited. For certain reasons I am unable to do so at the present time. However, the following remarks about Captain Cook may prove interesting.

In the beginning of January, 1926, I visited Kaawaloa on the north side of Kealakekua Bay in order to have a look at the Cook Monument, which, by the way, was not erected by the British Government as mentioned in our local newspaper, but, as is stated on the face of the monument itself, "by some of his fellow-countrymen." Whilst there I noticed that on a flat lava rock not far from the beach and about two to three feet above high tide mark, a white cross had been painted by some one. On asking the native man who had ferried me across in his canoe from Napoopoo what this white cross was there for, he told me, "that was where Captain Cook was killed." Who has painted this white cross on the lava rock at Kaawaloa beach I do not know. It may be merely a surveyor's mark, or it may have been placed there by the Kona Civic Club or by the Honolulu Tourist Bureau for the satisfaction of visiting tourists.

As the spot where this white cross has been painted on the lava rock at Kaawaloa does not agree with the place which was pointed out to me some forty years ago by Captain Aaron C. Simerson, then purser of the steamer "W. G. Hall" as the spot where Capt. Cook fell into the water when pierced in the back



Photographs Referred to by Mr. Wilson  
(Page 58)

Base of Captain Cook Monument may be seen in left background of  
upper picture





by a native's dagger, on 14 February 1779, I thought it worth while to get two photographs taken, copies of which I send you herewith. One of them shows the writer pointing his finger at the white cross above referred to and in the other, he is seen pointing in the direction of the spot in the water, close to the beach, which was shown to him some forty years ago as being the place where Cook fell.

It may be mentioned that at the present time the resident population of Kaawaloa, consists of one Hawaiian family—who are not natives of the spot and whose head goes fishing for a living—and one old Japanese man who earns a living by peddling fish on his donkey along the upper Government road. None of these know or care anything about old times or traditions in Kona, neither so far as I could find out can any of the few natives still living on the other side at Napoopoo tell you anything worth knowing about the Hikiau heiau or about Kamehameha or Cook's or Vancouver's residence there. With very few exceptions, the old generation of natives have disappeared from Kona and the whole region is "Japanned." Even when I arrived on these islands, the bulk of what natives there were in the Kona districts lived along the beach. Now, Kailua, Holualoa, Kahaluu, Keauhou, Napoopoo, Honaunau, Kealia, Hookena, and further south are practically deserted by natives. They have either died, gone to live mauka or shifted to Honolulu.

On my return to Honolulu from this trip to Kona, I visited my old friend Captain Simerson and obtained from him the following statement, viz:

"I was born at Napoopoo, district of South Kona, Hawaii, in 1856, being the son of W. R. Simerson of New York, who arrived on a whale ship at Kealakekua Bay about 1854. My father practiced his trade of stone mason at Kona, at Haiku Mill, Maui, and other places on the islands. He built for Capt. Cummins the stone store and dwelling which formerly stood on the site now occupied by the American Factors' store, Napoopoo. He also built the stone church at Napoopoo still standing. My mother, who was a native Hawaiian, died when I was 1 year old and I went to live at Haiku, Maui, but when

about 10 years old I went back to Napoopoo and was brought up there by my aunt Malia Kapehe. Resided at Napoopoo until 18 years of age when I went to sea (1875) and continued as purser or master of various schooners and steamers trading between Honolulu and the Kona-Kau ports until May 1923 when I retired.

When calling at Kealakekua Bay, I was sometimes asked by passengers on board—principally English—to point out to them the exact spot where Captain Cook was killed, and in order to be able to answer them correctly, I enquired of several of the natives residing at Kaawaloa to show me where Captain Cook fell on 14th February 1779. They showed me a spot on the beach at Kaawaloa, which at high tide was covered by a foot or two of water. This spot lay somewhat nearer the sea than the location of the old wharf which has now disappeared.

I have seen two recent photographs, both taken at the time of high tide. One of these shows William F. Wilson standing on a ledge of black lava rock, at Kaawaloa Bay, on which a white cross has been painted by someone to mark the spot where Captain Cook fell. This rock at high tide is 2 or 3 feet above water and is not the spot which was pointed out to me by old resident natives of Kaawaloa as the exact spot where Cook fell. The second photograph shows William F. Wilson standing on the top of the same ledge of black lava rock and pointing to a spot in the water situated a few feet from the rock. To the best of my recollection, this is the spot pointed out to me by natives many years ago. Captain Cook had reached the waterside and was standing facing his boats, with his back to the mob of angry natives. He was in the act of holding up his hand in order to tell the boats to pull close in to the shore, or else in order to get the marines to cease firing, when a native stepped behind and stabbed him with a dagger. Cook fell into the water, face downward, and died from the dagger wound or else was drowned when lying insensible in the water.

AARON C. SIMERSON."

Before closing I would mention that I found at "Kapuhi o Lono" the old capstan bar with the small board at the top



with copper plate inscription thereon which was erected at the time of Captain Lord Byron's visit over 100 years ago is still there in good condition. Some one has stated that this pole is made of Kauila, but from the square shape I am led to believe that it and the copper plate at top bearing the inscription are the identical ones placed there by the men from H. M. S. "Blonde." This and the stone pile on which it is erected are highly interesting memorials of the great navigator. It is owing to it being far away mauka from the landing place at Kaawaloa, that this pole and inscription have survived. Were they at the beach, they would have been carted away long ago by some tourist, just as the several copper plates which I recall were tacked to coconut trees at Kaawaloa by visiting British men o'war have disappeared. I remember seeing one of these copper plates in the small museum attached to Woodward's Garden, San Francisco.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) WM. F. WILSON.

(b)

Honolulu, T. H., June 15, 1927.

RIGHT REVEREND BISHOP HENRY B. RESTARICK,  
President, Hawaiian Historical Society,  
Honolulu, T. H.

MY DEAR BISHOP:

Since our conversation *re* the location of the place or spot where Captain Cook was killed in 1779 at Kaawaloa, Kealahou Bay, South Kona, Hawaii, I will make the following statement and hope it will be of some assistance to you.

When I first visited Kaawaloa Landing in 1887 (July) I was staying with Mr. J. D. Paris at Kaawaloa mauka, and on steamer days generally went down to the landing. Mr. Paris showed me the place or spot where Captain Cook was killed. The Rev. S. H. Davis also showed me the same location as the place or spot where Captain Cook was killed.

In 1902, Moko, an old Hawaiian, living at Kaawaloa Landing, showed me practically the same point as being the place where Captain Cook was killed. Mainui, an old Hawaiian, living at Honaunau, made a trip to Kaawaloa Landing with me as a kamaaina in the location of boundaries; he also showed me the place where Captain Cook was killed; the location was the same as Moko's. I might state that Mainui was then 78 years old. Kino, an old Hawaiian (70 years old) living at Napoopoo, was employed by me as a kamaaina on boundary work at Kaawaloa, and his location of the place where Captain Cook was killed was the same as Moko and Mainui.

Mr. J. D. Paris, Moko, Mainui, and Kino also showed me the old coconut tree to which was nailed the original Captain Cook Monument, a ship's copper plate, by a party from His Majesty's Ship Imogene, October 17th, 1837, the inscription being:

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Near this spot

fell

CAPTAIN JAMES COOK R. N.

the

RENOWNED CIRCUMNAVIGATOR

WHO

DISCOVERED these ISLANDS

A. D. 1778

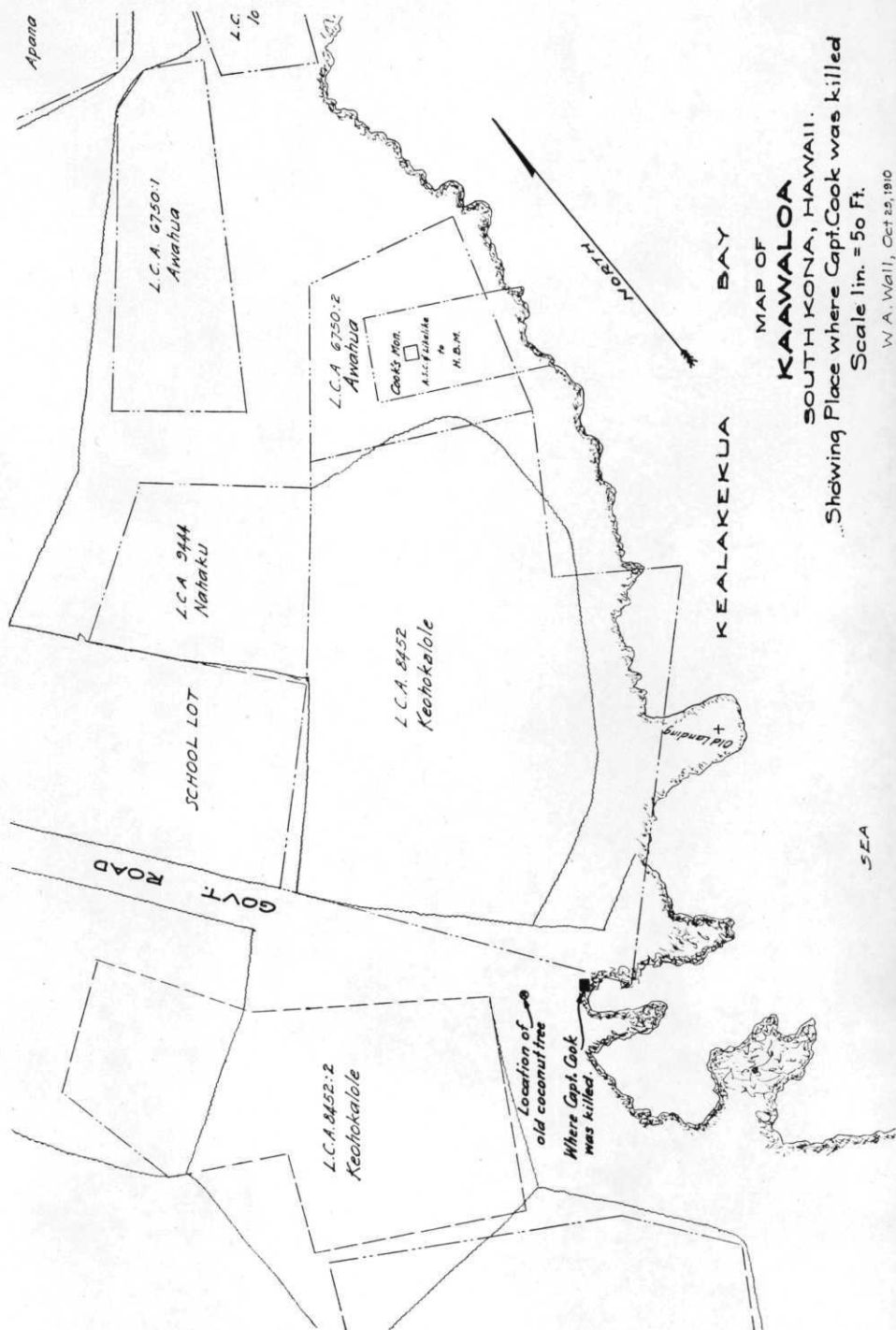
HIS MAJESTYS SHIP

IMOGENE

OCTOBER 17th, 1837

The white cross (+) shown in the photograph which Mr. W. F. Wilson has furnished you is most likely a triangulation station, or a reference point to some survey. The photograph





which shows Mr. Wilson pointing into the sea is on the Bay side of the Landing, and not the Seaside as all evidence shows. As near as I can remember from kamaaina testimony the old boat landing is about one hundred feet from the point where Captain Cook was killed.

I am furnishing you with a blue print showing the place where Captain Cook was killed, marked "X", and the location of the old coconut tree to which the original Captain Cook Monument was nailed, marked "O".

Very truly yours,

(Signed) W. A. WALL.

## The Death of Captain Cook

Some Account of the Contemporary Illustrations of this  
Incident

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By STEPHEN W. PHILLIPS, of Salem, Massachusetts

It is needless to say that in the confusion and excitement when Captain Cook was killed no one present sat down to make a sketch of the scene, and therefore it is fair to say that all the many representations of the incident are fancy pieces. There are, however, four engravings from drawings made within a comparatively short time by men who were either on the spot themselves or by artists who had an intimate connection with such men and received suggestions from them. The four engravings are reproduced in this number of the Society's publication from photographs made directly from the original engravings. Each of the pictures I think has been reproduced several times by good, bad, and indifferent engravers, some of the plates varying so much as to be hardly recognizable. The four pictures may be described briefly as the Weber, Cleveley, Garter, and Dodd. At the end of this article for the benefit of print collectors and students I have given an exact description of each of these four plates and the writing below them which is too fine to be read in the reproductions.

*The Weber Drawing.* Webber or Weber, which was his real name, accompanied Cook on the third voyage as official draftsman of the expedition and made many sketches and water color paintings of the incidents of the voyage. Many of these were wash drawings in sepia on cardboard and were reproduced as illustrations in the large folio volume which accompanies the third volume of the official account in quarto of the third voyage. Weber himself later printed a number of them in aquatint in a large portfolio and some of them have never been reproduced. The original drawings have from time to time come on the market and are now scattered among collectors all over the world. I have some myself, some are in Australia, and I understand a number of the Hawaiian ones

are in the collection of the Bishop Museum. The picture of the death of Cook seems to me to have been carefully worked up by Weber after the event to bring in the various personages described in the official entry in the log book. It was considered by the publishers to be a very important picture and the engraving was entrusted to the best engravers available. The background and scenery was engraved by Byrne and the important figures by Bartolozzi. The portrait of Cook in the original engraving is a very fine one and probably gives us the best idea we have of his general appearance. A slim, well formed man, with the same sharp, well cut features, with which we are familiar in Dance's portrait and in Pingo's medal. We can see the boats turning in to the shore to pick up the survivors, the marines in them preparing to fire upon the natives. The gigantic Hawaiian chief about to plunge the dagger into Cook's neck is well shown. On the whole it is a very spirited scene and has considerable merit as an artistic production. The costumes, cloaks, and helmets of the natives were undoubtedly drawn from those in the possession of the expedition, and a careful comparison of those in the British Museum with the picture may perhaps identify the actual cloaks used. The whole picture is planned to agree with the official account, Cook entirely innocent trying to save life and the Hawaiians taking the initiative in the fighting. I am not now discussing the truth or falsehood of the official account, I merely wish to call attention to the fact that the plate we are examining closely agrees with it. The plate was published in 1785, in two sizes, and does not seem to have been inserted in all the copies of the folio volume of the third voyage, as it is often lacking; perhaps it was sold separately to such as cared to pay for it, or in some cases may have been taken out for framing. It is by far the best known picture, as it has been reproduced by every sort of process, and is the one commonly met with in cheap editions.

*The Cleveley Print.* James Cleveley was the carpenter on Captain Cook's ship the *Resolution* on the third voyage. He was something of an artist and painted a number of marine pictures. His brother, John Cleveley, was a very well known marine artist who painted many views of naval actions and

other marine subjects. This print is one of a series of four purporting to be from paintings by John Cleveley after sketches made on the spot by James Cleveley and engraved by F. Jukes, a famous aquatintist of the day. They are said to have been hand colored by John Cleveley himself, and were published in London in 1787-1788. The first three were views of scenery in New Zealand and the Society Islands, the last was a representation of the death of Captain Cook. It is an interesting picture and in the original aquatint is very beautiful, but it has very little historic value. The mountain in the background certainly does not look like Mauna Loa, and it is impossible to make any of the scenery seem like Kealekekua. The picture of Cook himself is very poor. He seems to be a short, fat man. The same tall chief, however, as in Weber's print, is about to stab him in the neck. The ships are well and carefully drawn, and are probably correct, as both the Cleveleys were fine ship painters, but I fear John Cleveley so altered and redrew the scene from his brother's sketches that the picture has no importance as a historical document.

*The Garter Print.* This is a very large, rather coarsely done piece of work, and was published in 1794. J. Hall, who had engraved some of Weber's sketches, engraved the face of Captain Cook, and the rest of the picture is by well known engravers of the time. It purports to be from a painting by C. Garter. I have been unable to find anything about the artist, and think he probably made up the picture from accounts and interviews with different survivors, and after seeing some of the collections brought back by the expedition. The feather cloak on the kneeling chief, the boar's tooth bracelet, and the tapa malos on the men must have been drawn from actual objects. The landscape has a certain interest in that it locates Cook's landing far up in the bay near the high cliffs rather than out nearer the point. I do not attach any real importance to this, however, as the picture is undoubtedly made up from a number of rude sketches.

*The Dodd Print.* It is said that when Stockdale prepared his octavo edition of Cook's last voyage he was unable to obtain permission to use Weber's picture of the death of Cook and employed one of the Dodds, several of whom were famous



marine artists, to design a picture for him. It was published a few months before Weber's print and may have been contrived to catch the market before the larger or better known one could be engraved. It is a well drawn interesting picture representing the moment just as Cook has been struck down and has fallen with his face in the water.

There are a number of other contemporary engravings, but I did not think them worth reproducing, as they had no merit as pictures, and no pretense to accuracy. For example, the frontispiece of the anonymous last voyage of Cook is a perfectly absurd sketch of a marine in full uniform standing up to his knees in water and looking back at the shore.

There is an interesting oil painting of the death of Cook at Greenwich Hospital which was painted by Zoffany, and was once in possession of Mrs. Cook. I do not know that it has ever been engraved, and I have been unable to obtain a photograph of it from the authorities of Greenwich Hospital. It somewhat resembles the Garter print and may have been painted from some of the same sketches.

The four plates given are all interesting to Cook collectors and the full description of them by which they can be identified is as follows:

#### THE WEBER PRINT

##### The Death of Captain Cook

Drawn by J. Weber. The Figure engraved by F. Bartolozzi, R. A. The Landscape by W. Byrne, London. Published as the Act directs, 1 July, 1785, by W. Byrne, No. 79 Titchfield Street. J. Weber, No. 312 Oxford Street. (Engraved surface of plate 10.1-8 in. x 15.1-8 in.)

#### THE CLEVELEY PRINT

Drawn on the spot by Jas. Cleveley. Painted by Jno. Cleveley, London. F. Jukes, aquatint. To His most Sacred Majesty George III of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. This View of Owhyhee, one of the Sandwich Islands, in the South Seas, is most humble Dedicated by His Majesty's most dutiful and devoted Subject & Serv't, Thos. Martyn.

London. Published according to Act of Parliament, by T. Martyn, at his Academy, for Illustrating and Painting Natural History. No. 16, Great Marlborough St. July 5, 1788. (Engraved surface 17½ in. x 24 in.)

## THE GARTER PRINT

C. Garter, pinsit. S. Smith engraved the Landscape. J. Hall engraved the Portrait of Capt. Cook, the Figures by J. Thorathwaite. The Death of Captain James Cook, by the Indians of O. Why. EE, one of the Sandwich Islands. Published 12 May, 1794. By Laurie & Whittle, No. 53 Fleet Street, London. (Engraved surface 17 in. x 24 in.)

## THE DODD PRINT

Drawn by D. P. Dodd and others who were on the Spot. Engraved by T. Cook. The Death of Captain James Cook, F. R. S., at Owhyhee, in MDCCLXXIX. Published Nov. 20, 1784, by J. Fielding, Paternoster Row, Scatcherd and Whitaker Ave Maria Lane and J. Stockdall Picadilly. (Engraved surface 6 in. x 8 in.)

STEPHEN W. PHILLIPS.

Salem, Massachusetts, February 18, 1927.

## Captain Cook's First Visit to the Hawaiian Islands

By GEORGE GILBERT

[The following account of the first visit of Captain James Cook to the Hawaiian Islands is taken from Gilbert's Narrative of Cook's Last Voyage, the original of which was acquired not long ago by the British Museum. Gilbert's account of the death of Captain Cook was published last year by this Society (Reprint No. 5). Subsequently, our president, Bishop Restarick, took steps to obtain for the Society a copy of the portion of the Narrative describing the first visit of the great explorer to these islands; and it is published now, it is believed, for the first time.]

(British Museum, Add. MS 38,530, Pages 107-115)

About the 25th of January 1778 being then in Lat.  $21\frac{1}{2}$  North Longitude 201 East we discovered an Island at the distance of 10 Leagues to windward of us and in a few hours afterwards another to leeward which we stood for and the next day came to an anchor in an open road on the South side of it having bad ground and a Reef to leeward of us. This Island was call'd by the Natives Towi; it is of a circular form and about the size of Otaheite; the interior parts are high land the shore in general is of a modrate height and has a very barren appearance till you come close in with it: what verdure there is being only in the vallies, which are very fertile. The natives came off to us in their Canoes in great numbers; as soon as we came near the shore; and were very easily perswaded to come on board; which they ventured to do without the least diffidence; they appear'd to be much delighted and took a fancy to several things that they saw, and were going very leisurely without any scruple or hesitation to carry them into their canoes; and seem'd greatly surprized at our preventing it; by takeing from them what they had got hold of; which they would not quit till after some persuasion; for they could not believe that we were in earnest but imagind that we wou'd alow them to take what they chose till we convinced them to the contrary, and then they were perfectly

satisfied, and behaved in a very agreeable and friendly manner. In their persons and dress they very much resembled the Friendly Islanders; and spoke nearly the same Language as the Otaheitains. When they had fully satisfied their curiosity, and were returning to the shore as soon as they had got a little distance from the ship, we perceived them heaving a great number of small stones out of the bottom of their canoes into the water, whether they brought them off to act with on the defensive or offensive we could not positively determine but from every appearance were rather led to believe the former. A boat was sent on shore from each ship with a Lieut: to purchase provisions when immediately they came near the beach the natives surrounded them in great numbers. upon which, they did not think it prudent to Land but remaind in the Boats the natives soon began to be very troublesome and even attempted to haul the boat on shore which obligd the officers to fire at them by which one of them was Kill'd. the report of the musket together with the fire and smoak, and the execution it did, being what they had never seen before and a mystry, they could form not the least conception of terrified them so much, that they all quitted the boats instantly and went away carrying the dead body off with them and making great Lamentations; the boats did not attempt to land after this, but return'd on board the next morning Capt Cook went on shore himself with 4 or 5 boats well arm'd to purchas provisions and bring off water he had no sooner landed but a number of the natives came and prostrated themselves before him in the most submissive manner imaginable. The reason of this he was unacquainted with as he had not been informd that one of them had been kill'd the day before; they brought plenty or provisions down to the beach consisting of hogs, Fowls Bread fruit, plantains, eddy root, sweet potatoes, and sugar cane, in great quantities; which we purchased with hatchets, nails, beads, &c red Feathers, being no article of traid here; they having got great plenty of them tis rather surprizing that there are no Cocoa nuts here, which are found in all the other Islands. The natives came off to the ship again, and brought with them the

productions of the Island which we purchas'd along side. There is a large Revulit of excellent water here but the great surf that runs upon the beach renders the watering rather difficult however each ship got off three or four boat loads. After we had been here three or four days, the wind came on to blow fresh along shore, which caus'd a great swell that the boats could not Land; and Capt Cook not thinking it safe rideing in the situation we were in, we hove up and stood out to Sea with an intention to look for safer anchorage; leaving the discovery still in the road, we had no sooner got a little distance from the Land but the wind shifted directly off the shore which entirely frustrated our design; for tho' we attempted to work up for four or five days, we could not get to windward therefore giving over all hopes of fetching into anchorage again, we stood for an Island that lies in sight to the W S W, at about 8 Leagues distance and the next morning came to an anchor in an open road on the lee side of it. This Island is call'd by the Natives Neehow; it is about  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the extent of that we left and has the most Barren appearance imaginable not having a Tree upon it the weathermost part of it is of a modrate height but the lee side off which we lay, is low and swampy; the landing is attended with great difficulty from the surf that breaks upon the shore, which is very rocky; the water here is in standing pools, and is but indifferant and very troublesome to get at; there appear'd to be but few inhabitants upon this Island, who came off to us and behaved very friendly; Hogs, and Fowls, are exceeding scarce here; there are plenty of yams, and sweet potatoes, which seem'd to be the only produce of the Island. for we saw no fruit up on it, the discovery came in the next day from Towi, and inform'd us that they had purchas'd a great quantity of yams while we were out; we did not see any when we were there, the natives not having brought them down then sent a party on shore with a tent to purchase yams; and as bread was the scarcest article of provision we had on board they became a great object to us as being an excellent substitute for it, and will keep good two or three months at sea plantians or Bananoes if brought away green will keep two or three weeks; but are an indiffirant sub-

stitute; sweet potatoes which are excellent eating, will not keep above 10 days but the bread fruit will remain good only two or three days. after we had been here about a week, the wind began to blow fresh off shore; it came on in the night which drag'd our anchor into deep water; we immediately hove it up and made sail and stood out to sea, having luckily got our tent and people from the shore the day before; we saw a small high Island laying about 8 or 10 Leagues to the westward which we were told by the people of Neehow is uninhabited; having a light breeze, we did not loose sight of the land for two days, which was on the 12th of Febuary 1778; to these Islands Capt Cook gave the name of Sandwich, which I shall defer giving any further descriptions of till we come to them again.

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